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LEXICAL CHANGE AND BUSINESS: THE CASE OF CONTEMPORARY UKRAINIAN (1991 –2001)

by

Valerii Polkovsky ©

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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241 Grandin Village
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Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Lexical Change and Business: The Case of Contemporary Ukrainian (1991-2001)" submitted by Valerii Polkovsky in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Tom Priestly
Dr. Tom Priestly

Alla Nedashkivska
Dr. Alla Nedashkivska

Dr. Andrij Hornjatkevyč

Dr. Bohdan Medwidsky

Dr. Leendert Mos

20 December 2002

for Dr. Paul Wexler

Abstract

The dissertation considers lexical changes in Contemporary Ukrainian under the impact of rapid social, political, economic and cultural change during ten years of Ukrainian independence (1991-2001). Neologisms, the semantic reorientation motivated by social and ideological transformation, the passive and active usage of lexemes, the reduced function of meanings reflecting Soviet realia are considered.

The dissertation is organized into three main parts:

(1) The review of the literature on the historical change in the Ukrainian language in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries focuses on the development of the lexicon and the analysis demonstrates the vitality of, as well as problems with, the Ukrainian language during particular periods. I concentrated on revitalization efforts, borrowing, and the impact of the division of Ukrainian territory on the use of the Ukrainian language.

(2) Tendencies in lexical development of Contemporary Ukrainian are presented. Changes in the lexicon of the contemporary mass media have been investigated in detail, utilizing Ryazanova-Clarke and Wade's (1999) classification. The analysis demonstrates the means of replenishment of the contemporary period, utilizing derivation, re-connotation, borrowings, etc. I demonstrate the process of democratization in the Ukrainian language of this period. Linguistic prescriptive norms were seriously loosened.

(3) An analysis is provided of twenty six business Ukrainian terms with respect to the perception of their semantic content by Ukrainian subjects. The analysis in this chapter illustrates strong development in the Ukrainian business lexicon, the filling in of referential gaps in a short period of time. The adequacy or inadequacy of these terms as contrasted with western concepts, and their specific Ukrainian semantic component are discussed. To a significant extent, the Ukrainian terms correspond to accepted western concepts and notions, but with certain differences involving the addition of Ukrainian components. They tend more to a theoretical semantic content as compared with western applied one.

The main merit of the dissertation is a systematic picture of Contemporary Ukrainian lexicon and recent changes in it, with special emphasis on developments in the business lexicon. These changes truly testify to the process of democratization or liberalization which is unfolding with unprecedented speed in Contemporary Ukrainian.

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INTRODUCTION

This dissertation will consider lexical changes in Contemporary Ukrainian. The time period to which I am giving my primary attention is 1991-2001, ten years of Ukrainian independence, including the consideration of the theoretical literature written in this time frame. This period is an indicator of the creation of a new language free from communist dogmatic prescriptions and clichés, a state language called to serve all the practical needs of the state, a language undergoing a serious process of liberalization.

My research centres on processes that are taking place in the vocabulary under the impact of rapid social, political, economic and cultural change. The disintegration of the Soviet Union, the collapse of the totalitarian system, the period of perestroika and glasnost have resulted in considerable changes in the conditions in which the language functions. The rather bewildering developments in Ukrainian society today are reflected in what several observers characterize as a particularly dynamic state of the Ukrainian language. I will describe new trends and new phenomena in the Ukrainian language: neologisms, the reorientation of meanings as motivated by social and ideological transformation, the passive and active usage of lexemes, the reduced function of meanings reflecting Soviet realia, the "deideologization" of the lexicon, and the social factors involved in language change. My research has focused in particular on business vocabulary, since business is a relatively novel social sphere for Ukrainians and the process of generating neologisms is especially active in this commercial domain as well as in the language of the Ukrainian mass media. The semantic adaptation of some business terms entering Ukrainian will be studied, as well as the "adequacy" of words borrowed from Western business practices.

More precisely, the study will focus on the frequent borrowings of English terms (for example, "management", "marketing", "business", "businessman"). I will address the following question: "Do the Ukrainian terms correspond to the western concepts?" and also, incidentally, the question: "What if any is the specific semantic Ukrainian component added?"

In my research, great attention is paid to the problems of Ukrainian vocabulary as the most mobile part of the language system, actively reacting to the shifts of socio-political, ideological and economic character.

The objective of the dissertation. The objective of the dissertation is to illustrate lexical changes in Contemporary Ukrainian during the ten years of existence of Ukraine as an independent state (1991 - 2001). Two domains of functioning of the Ukrainian lexicon have been chosen – mass media and business. The lexicon is changing rapidly in these two domains, as they undergo radical changes in contemporary Ukrainian society.

The research deals with the study of the active processes which affect the language system, including lexical semantics, word formation, vocabulary replenishment – the integration of new loanwords, the inventory of business terminology and its functioning. In addition, I will also address the question of puristic tendencies in Contemporary Ukrainian.

The main focus of the dissertation is the period of independence though the changes of this period are demonstrated in a context relative to the background of the previous development of the Ukrainian language.

Review of previous research. The issues noted above have not received sufficient attention in Ukrainian linguistics.

According to Moskovich (1996: 260), "The most recent developments in the history of Ukraine of the perestroika, post-perestroika and independence period brought forth rapid changes in Ukrainian political and economic terminology, which have not yet been adequately researched and described". Alexander Kratochvil (2000: 263) shares the same opinion: "Unfortunately, until now there has been little research into Ukrainian linguistic subsystems and few comparative studies. Further studies, in particular semantic and sociological analyses that show the dynamic nature and breadth of the Ukrainian language, are not merely desirable, but absolutely essential".

Lexical changes in Contemporary Ukrainian have been discussed by Berezovenko 1996, 1997, Bex 1997, Farion 2000, Humec'ka 1997, Kolomijec' 1997, Mac'ko 2000, Mazuryk 1999, Pokrovs'ka 1995, Stavyc'ka 2000. These works are too general (excepting Pokrovs'ka's dissertation, which is devoted to business lexicon) and quite often too brief. Furthermore, there is no monograph on this topic.

During the 1970s Ukrainian linguists researched certain aspects of the development of vocabulary such as international elements in the lexicon of different languages (Akulenko 1972), the development of various subsystems (Pan'ko 1979) or general consideration of the Ukrainian lexicon (Lysyčenko 1977).

The research works mentioned above present a fragmented and scattered picture of the Ukrainian lexicon. My work presents to the reader the systematic changes in the lexical system of the language under the impact of political, cultural and social changes.

Recent developments in the Ukrainian lexicon. The bureaucratic language of the totalitarian society has been gradually giving way to new forms of expression. While formerly business terms and expressions were limited to the sphere of official and professional communication, now they are used in active vocabulary. It is, for all practical purposes, the first time that the Ukrainian language is employed in the role of a state language, which drastically differs from its role in the former Soviet Union. During this recent period of independence, the Ukrainian lexicon has been extensively expanded.

The value of the dissertation. The dissertation can be employed to compare the present situation of Ukrainian linguistic revitalization with analogous processes in Russian and Polish. The practical value of the work lies in the picture it gives us of Contemporary Ukrainian as a lexical system. The collected data have practical value for the standardization of the Ukrainian lexicon, and should be very valuable for translation purposes, as well as for the preparation of Ukrainian business dictionaries and pedagogical materials both in Ukraine and abroad.

Methodology. For the three main chapters of the dissertation the methodology will include:

Chapter 1 will present a review of the literature on the historical change of the Ukrainian language in the nineteenth – twentieth centuries, and an analysis of a corpus of examples taken from primary source texts (newspapers and magazines). Corpus data will be used for the analysis of the last two periods before Ukrainian independence, 1970 – 1985 and 1985 – 1991.

In Chapter 2 I report on an analysis of a corpus of examples extracted from contemporary Ukrainian newspapers and magazines of the independence period. Where necessary, Ukrainian examples are contrasted with Russian ones, excerpted from Russian newspapers of approximately the same period.

Chapter 3 provides an analysis of the fieldwork in Ukraine conducted in the form of interviews with 25 subjects in five Ukrainian cities. I have chosen certain geographical limits for my fieldwork (cities in the Western Ukraine and the capital of Ukraine Kyiv) because:

a) of lack of funds to conduct a broader experiment;
b) in a limited time frame it was easier to organize and conduct interviews in the cities I previously worked and lived in, such as Rivne, Ternopil,' Xmel'nyc'kyj and L'viv;
c) attempts to gather information in other regions of Ukraine (in the East or South) would probably have produced very little usable material since these regions are still heavily russified and the Ukrainian language is only trying to establish itself there.

These specific 26 terms were selected because 1) they present key lexical items of contemporary business lexicology (evidenced in other languages like Russian, Polish); 2) I found them interesting from the point of view of consideration of recent changes in contemporary Ukrainian business lexicon; 3) they present a good blend of a) restored pre-Soviet Ukrainian lexis; b) lexis used in the Soviet period with some semantic shift and semantic redistribution; c) recent foreign (mostly English) borrowings. All these terms in my research are ordered thematically.

The interviews were conducted in December 2000 – January, 2001. The subjects were instructors of business disciplines at Ukrainian economic universities.

Theoretical Premises. The theoretical classification partially utilized in this dissertation was developed by Larissa Ryazanova-Clarke and Terence Wade (1999) with respect to the analysis of contemporary Russian lexicon. This classification allows one to trace changes occurring in the language during the transitional period from the language of a totalitarian to the language of a post-totalitarian society.

From the theoretical classification, developed by Ryazanova-Clarke & Wade (1999), I used the following six categories of lexical change:

1) Re-activation of lexical items which were considered obsolete
2) Re-orientation of native lexis
3) Name changes
4) Re-connotation
    a) Words lose their ideological components and negative connotation;
    b) Words lose their ideological components and change their connotation from positive to negative;

   c) Words lose their ideological components and change their connotation from negative to positive;
   d) Words lose their ideological components and positive connotations
5) Re-activation, reorientation and reinterpretation of words of foreign origin borrowed before 1985
6) Changes in non-standard lexis.

Further details on Ryazanova-Clarke and Wade's (1999) classification are provided in the subsection 2.2.3. (p. 72).

Some of the elements of Holden's (1995) approach with respect to filling in referential gaps in Russian management and construction terminology were utilized by application to the analysis of the Ukrainian business lexicon and its comparison with the English one. Holden (1995: 52) considers the general issue of "language deficiency" from three interlocking perspectives relating to: (a) the absence in Russian of standardized management terminology in general; (b) a mismatch of terms to denote construction activity in particular; and (c) Russian managers as learners of Western management know-how. In my dissertation the following issues were also highlighted, based on Holden's consideration of management terminology: (a) the absence in Ukrainian of standardized business terminology (or the absence of knowledge of certain Ukrainian equivalents, pp. 191-192); (b) the use of different Ukrainian equivalents for the same English concept or sometimes a mismatch of terms to denote business terminology in particular and (c) Ukrainian subjects as learners of Western business terminology (a point which is described only occasionally). Like Russian, but to an even greater extent, Ukrainian had to fill in what Holden calls a "semantic and ontological vacuum" because of the deprivation of lexical resources for the description and apprehension of western business concepts. After the collapse of the USSR Ukraine had to adjust to a new type of economic system, which was neither communist, nor capitalist. New concepts and ideas were coming from abroad, but it was not easy for them to find a direct application in transitional Ukrainian economy. Further details on Holden's (1995) approach are provided in section 3.1. (pp. 121, 124-125).

Chapter Outline. The dissertation is divided into three chapters as follows.

Chapter 1 provides a brief overview of the historical development of the Ukrainian language in the nineteenth – twentieth centuries with particular attention to lexical changes. The first chapter largely relies on Shevelov's (1989) description of the Ukrainian language in the first half of the twentieth century. The analysis demonstrates the vitality of, as well as problems with, the Ukrainian language during particular periods. Chapter 1 is provided as a background for the main focus of the present dissertation.

Chapter 2 investigates in detail changes in the lexicon of contemporary mass media. The analysis demonstrates the means of the replenishment of the Ukrainian vocabulary of the contemporary period utilizing derivation, re-connotation, borrowings, etc. The emphasis is on the process of democratization in the Ukrainian language and its prevailing over purist or archaizing tendencies.

Chapter 3 provides an analysis of 26 business Ukrainian terms with respect to their perception (more precisely the perception of their semantic content) by Ukrainian subjects. The analysis of this chapter illustrates a strong development in the Ukrainian business lexicon, the filling in of referential gaps in a short period of time. The adequacy or inadequacy as contrasted with the western concepts and the specific Ukrainian component are discussed.

CHAPTER 1

A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE (MODERN PERIOD)

1.1. Introduction

The goal of this chapter is to present a brief overview of the historical development of the Ukrainian language, primarily its lexical development. This overview gives me an opportunity to compare processes taking place in Contemporary Ukrainian (1991-2001) with processes that had taken place previously. It provides a broader historical background for my research allowing me to trace the differences between the language of a totalitarian society and the language of a post-totalitarian society. To trace the processes in Contemporary Ukrainian it is necessary to understand how these processes were developing in some former periods (for example, in the period of Ukrainization, 1925-1932).

The position taken in this thesis is as follows. Linguists based in Ukraine often presented the historical development of the Ukrainian language tendentiously, an approach which derived from the Communist party's position on the issue. The state of literary Ukrainian in Soviet times is presented in the rosiest of colors while in reality the situation was entirely different. As an example of this writing I can quote an extract from the collective monograph edited by Ivan Bilodid (1961: 4-5):

> *Pislja Velykoji Žovtnevoji socialistyčnoji revoljuciji suspil'na rol' ukrajins'koji literaturnoji movy zminylas': z movy, peresliduvanoji*

> *cars'kym urjadom, ukrajins'ka literaturna mova stala neobmeženoju v svojix funkcional'nyx možlyvostjax movoju vil'noji socialistyčnoji naciji; z movy, lokalizovanoji v xudožn'o-beletrystyčnomu i lyše častkovo v publicystyčnomu i naukovomu styljax, vona stala movoju vsix strukturno-funkcional'nyx styliv; z movy obmeženoho vžytku vona stala movoju deržavnyx ustanov, zakonodavstva, movoju bahatohrannoji socialistyčnoji kul'tury j osvity.*
> *Metodolohičnu osnovu "Kursu istoriji ukrajins'koji literaturnoji movy" radjans'koho periodu, jak i dožovtnevoho, stanovyt' marksysts'ko-lenins'ke včennja pro movu jak suspil'ne javyšče, jak mohutnje znarjaddja istoryčnoho rozvytku narodu, joho kul'tury, zokrema ukrajins'koho radjans'koho narodu i joho socialistyčnoji kul'tury.*
> 'After the Great October socialist revolution the social role of the Ukrainian literary language has changed: from a language persecuted by the tsarist government, the Ukrainian literary language became the language of a free socialist nation unlimited in its functional abilities; from a language localized in belles-lettres and only partially publicistic and scientific styles, it became the language of all structural and functional styles; from a language of limited use it became the language of state institutions and of legislation, the language of a diverse socialist culture and of education.
> The methodological basis of "The Course of the History of the Ukrainian Literary Language" of the Soviet, as well as the pre-October period, represents Marxist-Leninist teaching on a language as a social phenomenon, as a powerful means of the historic development of the nation, its culture, in particular the Ukrainian Soviet nation and its socialist culture.'

A primitive scheme of opposing the language development of the pre-October and the post-October 1917 periods is used, describing a rosy picture after 1917 with all the problems solved. What does this long quotation add to our understanding of real Ukrainian language historic development? Actually nothing. The pre-October period is described in dark tones, but after-October is always described in bright ones.

Bilodid (1961: 413) did not notice (or did not want to notice) the post-1917 policy of Russification:

> *Posylennja i pošyrennja roli rosijs'koji movy jak zasobu miznacional'noho spilkuvannja ne lyše ne obmežuje značennja i*

> *rozvytku nacional'nyx literaturnyx mov, a, navpaky, jak uže pidkresljuvalos,' spryjaje pidnesennju jix do rivnja vysokorozvynenyx mov*
> 'Strenthening and expansion of the Russian language as vehicle of international communication not only does not limit the importance and development of the national literary languages, but, on the contrary, helps to raise them to the level of highly developed languages.'

The spread of the Russian language or the policy of Russification, as it would be properly called, did not help to raise Ukrainian to the level of highly developed languages of that time. "During the 1960s and 1970s, Bilodid was the person most associated with the enforcement of the de-Ukrainization of Ukrainians, and he called for treating two languages (i.e., Ukrainian and Russian) as *native* languages for Ukrainians" (Onyshkevych 1999: 154). The same author (Onyshkevych 1999: 155), speaking about the 1970s, remarks: "Ukrainian words which had no parallels in the Russian language were carefully isolated and labelled dialectic, archaic, or simply 'nationalist'".

The identical approach is seen in other works of this period. In 1984, on the eve of perestroika, M. Žovtobrjux (1984: 24) wrote:

> *V umovax poslidovnoho zdijsnennja lenins'koji nacional'noji polityky Komunistyčnoji partiji Radjans'koho Sojuzu ukrajins'ka literaturna mova v pisljažovtnevyj period zdobula ne til'ky zahal'ne vyznannja, a j real'ni možlyvosti dlja vil'noho i vsebičnoho rozvytku, zbahačennja j udoskonalennja.*
> 'In the conditions of consistent accomplishment of Leninist national policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Ukrainian literary language in the post-October period received not only general recognition, but real opportunities for free and diverse development, enrichment and improvement.'
>
> *Russkij jazyk i russkaja literatura okazyvajut mogučee, plodotvornoe vozdejstvie na razvitie i obogaščenie jazykov i literatur drugix socialističeskix nacij, v tom čisle ukrainskogo jazyka i ukrainskoj literatury.*

> 'The Russian language and the Russian literature have a mighty, fruitful influence on the development and enrichment of the languages and literatures of other socialist nations, including the Ukrainian language and Ukrainian literature'

- wrote H. Jižakevyč (1977: 49).

The same Ivan Bilodid wrote in (1986: 242), when perestroika was already in full swing:

> *Dvujazyčie na Ukraine – èto tot vid bilingvizma, pri kotorom oba jazyka, naxodjaščiesja na vysokom urovne razvitija vsex svoix funkcional'nyx stilej, s odinakovoj širotoj i v ravnoj stepeni ispol'zujutsja narodom.*
> 'Bilingualism in Ukraine – this is that type of bilingualism during which two languages being at the high level of development of all its functional styles, with equal breadth and to an equal degree are used by people.'

Most of my survey comes from Shevelov (1989) and Wexler (1974), since linguists based in Ukraine, who are typified by Bilodid, Žovtobrjux and Jižakevyč, are very unreliable with respect to the description of the historic development of the Ukrainian language.

The historical background will be presented within the periodization developed by Shevelov 1989 (subsections 1.2.-1.6.), and by Ryazanova-Clarke and Wade 1999, and Comrie, Stone and Polinsky 1996 (regarding Russian, subsections 1.7.-1.11.).

"The standard, or literary, version of the Ukrainian language evolved through three distinct periods: old (10th-13th centuries), middle (14th-18th centuries), and modern (19th-20th centuries). The cardinal changes that occurred were conditioned by changes in the political and cultural history of Ukraine" – emphasizes Shevelov (EU 1993, 5: 7). My focal point in this chapter is the modern period. Special emphasis is placed on the last two periods in my classification, 1970–1985 and 1985–1991, as they are essential for the consideration of lexical changes in Contemporary Ukrainian during independence (1991-2001).

1.2. The Language Situation in the Nineteenth Century

The nineteenth century was, on one hand, a very fruitful and on the other hand, a very complicated period for the development of the Ukrainian language. One of the major problems was that the Ukrainian territory was divided between the Austro-Hungarian Empire (the western part) and Russia (the central and the eastern part). As Paul N. Wexler (1974: 39) notes: "In the Eastern Ukraine under czarist Russian domination official decrees throughout the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries denied Ukrainian the status of an independent language and prohibited its use in public." According to the 1863 decree, named the Valuev memorandum, Ukrainians were not allowed to publish their Ukrainian language books other than belles lettres works, and the use of Ukrainian as the language of instruction in schools was forbidden. Liturgical books were in Church Slavic and had to be uniform throughout the Russian Orthodox Church. Vernacular religious literature in Ukrainian was hardly allowed. The Valuev memorandum proclaimed that the Ukrainian language did not exist (see Onyshkevych 1999: 151). An 1876 decree, known as the Ems ukase, prohibited theatrical productions and public readings in Ukrainian, and translations from other languages into Ukrainian. It also forbade Ukrainian books to be imported. Meanwhile, "during the years of curtailment in the East, Galicia, a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, became the center of Ukrainian scholarly and literary activity" (Wexler 1974: 39-40).

The second half of the nineteenth century witnessed the development of the Ukrainian literary language in Western Ukraine and at the same time, alongside with the development of publicistic and scientific styles, one of the most important branches of specialized lexicon – the political and business lexicon[1]. Stormy political and economic events helped this process; they will not be analyzed deeply in this work due to the constraints of the dissertation. "The new literary Ukrainian began to be used in scholarship and publicism in the early 1860s" – notes Shevelov (EU 1993, 5: 8-9).

The use of Russian and Polish as official languages diminished the prestige of Ukrainian. The non-state status of Ukrainian was also one of the biggest obstacles faced. The notion of a standard norm of Ukrainian was rather vague at that time. The Ukrainian used in Western Ukraine was under heavy pressure from Polish, and the Ukrainian used in Eastern Ukraine under heavy pressure from Russian. The biggest cities were de-Ukrainianized and Ukrainian was used primarily among the rural population.

The nineteenth century witnessed the development of social sciences, in particular folklore, history, ethnography. Historical and historiographical literature did continue to appear but these were mostly publications of Middle

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[1] By 'lexicon' I mean "vocabulary of a particular period". By 'political lexicon' I mean vocabulary used in domains of politics (political terms and expressions). By 'business lexicon' I mean vocabulary used in domains of business, trade, economics (business terms and expressions).

Ukrainian historical documents in the original language and the commentary was in standard Russian.

> "In the debate on Standard Ukrainian at the turn of the century, V. Mova, O. Pchilka, and M. Starytsky, and then M. Kotsiubynsky, Lesia Ukrainka, I. Franko, and M. Levytsky, favoured a synthesis of the western and eastern vernaculars, while B. Hrinchenko, A. Krymsky, and I. Nechui-Levytsky argued for eliminating Western Ukrainian influences"

- remarks Shevelov (EU 1993, 5: 9). The foundations of the Ukrainian literary language were being formed on the basis of the Central subdialect of the SE dialect. The belles-lettres style developed intensively. There was some specific contradiction between usage of new folkloric basis of the Ukrainian language and the previous Middle Ukrainian literary language. As a result, some strata of the lexicon were omitted. Such words as *alebastr* 'alabaster,' *arxitektura* 'architecture,' *arxitektor* 'architector' are not recorded in the lexicographic works of the nineteenth century, though they were used in Middle Ukrainian records of the seventeenth century in the forms *aljabaster,' arxytektor*, *arxytektura* (see IUM 1983: 526-527).

Comparing the situation with the Ukrainian language under different empires, Shevelov (1989: 5) mentions:

> "The status of the Ukrainian language for the ca. 85 percent of Ukrainians who lived in tsarist Russia was the worst; the ca. 13 percent of Ukrainians who lived in Eastern Galicia and in Bukovina, integrated into Austria, enjoyed relatively better conditions; the remaining ca. 2 percent in Transcarpathia lived in a situation closer to that in the Russian Ukraine".

The problem of the lexical (and in particular the terminological) normalization of the Ukrainian literary language of the 1840s and 1850s was not even raised at that time. According to the Austrian constitution of 1848, all state laws should be published in all languages that then existed in that empire. Sociopolitical and business terminology should be normalized. For this purpose a special commission was created in Vienna. In 1851 *Juridisch-politische Terminologie fur die slawischen Sprachen Österreichs. Deutsch-ruthenische Separatausgabe* by Ja. Holovac'kyj, Ju. Vyslobods'kyj and H. Šaškevyč appeared, a dictionary of judicial-political terminology for the Slavic languages of Austria. The dictionary contained Ukrainian terms of law and politics.

When compiling the dictionary, its authors paid attention to the Old Ukrainian language and also to the currently popular lexicon. In the Ukrainian part of the dictionary such words as

grunt 'soil, ground'
dyrektor 'director'
kontrolja 'control'
fond 'fund'
fabryka 'factory'

and other words were included (see Horec'kyj 1963: 150, Žovtobrjux 1963: 213). Many terms that existed in the Ukrainian literary language of that time were registered in the dictionary:

agent 'agent'
bank 'bank'
bankovyj 'of bank' (adj.)
vartist' 'value'
dekret 'decree'
ekonomija 'economy'

zakonnist' 'legality'
zakonnyj 'legal'
komitet 'committee'
konsul 'consul'
platnja 'payment'
pravo cyvil'ne 'civil right'
raxunok 'account'
svidoctvo 'certificate'
sub"jekt 'subject'
subsydija 'subsidy'
sud kolegial'nyj 'collegiate court'
syndykat 'syndicate'
teorija 'theory'
firma 'firm'
cenzura 'censorship'

(see Žovtobrjux 1963: 214-215)[2], that is why the role of this dictionary in the lexical codification of the Ukrainian language of that time was enormous.

The literary language of the nineteenth century displays a great number of colloquialisms. These were already prominent in Kotljarevs'kyj's *Enejida.* Innovation in the language is evident in the works of I. Franko, P. Hrabovs'kyj, M. Kocjubyns'kyj and Lesja Ukrajinka. Not only literature, but the press also were the active means of popularizing new words[3].

New methods of the replenishment of the Ukrainian language were also advanced. In particular, methods of creating new words, neologisms, "coined words" (as they were called at that time) were used in both parts of Ukraine. M. Staryc'kyj, O. Pčilka, M. Vovčok and V. Mova introduced the majority of "coined words", adding various affixes to the root of a word. As Wexler (1974: 66) notes: "Proponents of neologisms ascribe two purposes for coinages: (1) to fill new terminological needs and (2) to replace undesirable loan translations (mainly from Russian and Polish models) and foreign loans."

Franko reintroduced many economic terms:

akcyzy 'excise taxes'
banknot 'banknote'
bankrotstvo 'bankruptcy'
buxhalterija 'accounting'

hroši 'money'
dyvidend 'dividend'
doxod 'profit'
ekspropriacija 'expropriation'

koncentracija 'concentration'
kryza 'crisis'
kupivlja 'purchase'
nahromadžennja 'accumulation'
obmin 'exchange'
podatky 'taxes'
pracja 'labour'
prodaž 'sale'

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[2] Examples are presented according to modern orthography

[3] "Ukrainian writers use the term *narodnja mova* which is not precisely English "colloquial language" but rather means "national", "folk", or "popular language." The term "colloquial" seems the most suitable translation. By colloquial language, the Ukrainian regulators have in mind the contemporary Central dialects spoken in the Kiev-Poltava region." (Wexler 1974: 84)

kapital 'capital'
kapitalistyčna produkcija
'capitalist production'
konkurencija 'competition'
produktyvnist' 'productivity'
promyslovyj kapital
'industrial capital'
tovar 'commodity'
cina 'price'

(see IUM 1983: 535).

Neologisms are also found in the language of Franko's works:

perekova 'reforging'
porjativnyk 'saviour'
pryhnoba 'oppresion'
suxaryna 'dried bread'

(Čaplenko 1955: 189).

Juridical terminology, business correspondence, and the language of international relations were developing primarily in Western Ukraine. The scientific style in the Ukrainian literary language was also forming in the second half of the nineteenth century. As Čaplenko (1955: 143) remarks regarding the scientific use of the Ukrainian language:

> *naukove vžyvannja (perevažno v Halyčyni ta na emihraciji – M. Drahomanov)*
> 'scientific use (mostly in Galicia and in emigration – M. Drahomanov).'

In the second half of the nineteenth century in the Central Ukraine I. Nečuj-Levyc'kyj, M. Drahomanov, S. Podolyns'kyj, O. Konys'kyj, V. Antonovyč, M. Komarov worked on the development of the Ukrainian scientific language.

Vasyl' Čaplenko (1955: 154) remarks in this respect:

> *Ale, zahal'no kažučy, vprodovž usijeji druhoji polovyny XIX st. bil'š rozvyvalasja ukrajins'ka naukova mova v pljani suspil'no-humanitarnyx nauk i značno menše – v pljani pryrodnyčyx nauk.*
> 'But, generally speaking, during the whole second half of the nineteenth century the Ukrainian scientific language developed more with respect to social sciences and humanities and considerably less with respect to natural sciences.'

The same author (Čaplenko 1955: 154) provides an interesting observation:

> *Treba vidznačyty takož, ščo vsi suto-naukovi praci pro ukrajins'ku movu druhoji polovyny XIX v. napysani buly i v Halyčyni, i na Naddnipprjanščyni ne po-ukrajins'komu.*
> 'Suffice it to mention also that all scientific works on the Ukrainian language of the second half of the nineteenth century were both in Galicia and in Central Ukraine not written in Ukrainian.'

The attention to colloquial language and the rise of the national consciousness and patriotism pushed the language along the road of democratic purism[4] and away from the Russian literary language.

The second half of the nineteenth century is connected with the magazine "*Osnova*" and the activity of the NTŠ (*Naukove Tovarystvo imeni Tarasa Ševčenka* 'Shevchenko Scientific Society') in Galicia, when on the pages of its *Zapysky* and *Zbirnyky* I. Franko, M. Hruševs'kyj, I. Horbačevs'kyj, Je. Ozarkevyč, M. Kravčuk, V. Levyc'kyj and many others published their works, laying down the foundations of scientific terminology. I. Franko wrote about this period that the Ukrainian language was being enriched by new terms and expressions, corresponding to the progress of modern civilization.

Such newly created terms as

beznačal'stvo 'anarchy'
hromadivec' 'socialist'
hromadivstvo 'socialism'
porod' 'nationality'
ustavne panstvo 'constitutional monarchy'

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[4] By purism I mean "… manifestation of a desire on a part of a speech community (or some section of it) to preserve a language from, or rid it of, putative foreign elements or other elements held to be undesirable (including those originating in dialects, sociolects and styles of the same language). It may be directed at all linguistic levels but primarily the lexicon. Above all, purism is an aspect of the codification, cultivation and planning of standard languages." (Thomas 1991: 3)

which were introduced into publicistic speech by Drahomanov, were not accepted by the public. Terms with the suffix *–ec*,' of the type *čytec'* 'reader,' *pys'movec'* 'writer' did find broad application.

Throughout Ukraine, formal worship was conducted in Church Slavonic, thus it was easy for a Galician priest to use Church Slavonicisms in his sermons and then in his writings.

In the 1850s-1860s Russophiles took the upper hand in Galicia promulgating the Russian language. The Galician intelligentsia, with the priests constituting its major segment, had at least a passive knowledge of Russian, although in reality it was rudimentary. Quite often when there was a lack of certain Ukrainian terms, to avoid the use of Polonisms, Russisms were used instead. But the Russian literary language itself contained numerous Church Slavonicisms (see Čaplenko 1955: 159).

Russian and Church Slavonic served as a ready source for numerous borrowings, and as a result, numerous Church Slavonicisms and Russisms crept into the Galician religious, social and scientific language. Ultimately, it is occasionally impossible to determine whether a borrowing such as *vlast'* 'power' is a Church Slavonicism or a Russism.

Čaplenko (1955: 159-160) writes on the use of Church Slavonicisms in Ukrainian:

> *Vzahali ž vykorystannja cerkovnoslov"janizmiv ujavljajet'sja nam jak neznačni sproby v istoriji ukrajins'koji literaturnoji movy, i v sučasnij ukrajins'kij literaturnij movi...*
> 'In general, we consider the use of Church Slavonicisms as insignificant attempts in the history of the Ukrainian literary language and in the Modern Ukrainian literary language…'

In the middle of the nineteenth century, the Galician press borrowed a great number of sociopolitical words from Russian and Church Slavonic (Žovtobrjux (1963: 218) cites all these words as Russisms):

blahodarnost' 'gratitude'
vlast' 'power'
mjatežnyk 'rebel'
pravytel'stvo 'government'
čolovičestvo 'mankind,'

but the majority of these terms had a limited function and were later squeezed out by the terms that correspond to the lexico-semantic structure of the Ukrainian language and are its own inheritance: *bezrobittja* 'unemployment,' *vdjačnist'* 'gratitude,' *ljudstvo* 'mankind.' A great number of Russian borrowings, the majority of which are of hidden character (structural calques and half-calques), became an inseparable part of the Ukrainian vocabulary:

vyborec' 'voter'
vypyska 'extract'
holosuvaty 'to vote'
zakonnist' 'legality'
ocinka 'evaluation'
čynovnyk 'official'

(Žovtobrjux 1963: 218-219).

A distinction has to be made among the various foreign borrowings. After all, borrowings from Russian are from a foreign language. Then, there is a problem of foreign borrowings via Russian. There was a tradition to adopt and adjust Polish words and Ukrainianize them. Borrowings from German were also coming mostly via Polish.

The usage of the Polish language in state institutions and social life, the interaction of the Polish and Ukrainian languages in oral communication and in the publishing of the Polish press in Galicia for many decades – all helped the penetration of Polonisms into the Ukrainian social-political terminology of the middle of the nineteenth century. As contemporary Polonisms in the written language can be considered such sociopolitical terms as

buntuvannja (buntowanie)'revolt'
vartist' (wartość) 'value'
rozzbrojennja (rozbrojenie) 'disarmament'
tovarystvo (towarzystwo) 'society'
urjad (urząd) 'government'
utrymannja (utrzymanie) 'allowance'

(Žovtobrjux 1963: 219).

The Russian and the Polish languages, the functional characteristics of which had already been formed by the 1830s-1840s, in many respects defined the principles of the development of Ukrainian sociopolitical terminology.

In the middle of the nineteenth century alongside with Church Slavonicisms, Polonisms, Germanisms and dialectisms, words such as

hrošovyj obih 'currency circulation'
daty svidoctvo 'to provide certificate'
dyplomatyčna osoba 'diplomat'
zakon 'law'

were widely functioning. In fact, these are still active in the Contemporary Ukrainian sociopolitical terminology.

The Ukrainian sociopolitical terminology was created with the consideration of both national traditions and international practice of terminological creation. The calquing of German terms is a vivid example. By affixation, terms were created, equivalent in their semantic structure to the corresponding German terms such as *perenaselennja* – Ger. Übervölkerung 'overpopulation.'

1.3. The Language Situation in the Years before World War I and the Revolution (1900-1916)

As in the previous period, the Ukrainian lands were still split into two parts.

According to Shevelov (1989: 21), "In the Austrian Ukraine the years 1900 – 1916 did not bring new forces to bear on the status of the Ukrainian language." There was a brief Russian occupation of Galicia (autumn 1914 – spring 1915) when Ukrainian political and cultural institutions were crushed.

> "There were no major changes in the legal status of the Ukrainian language in Galicia and Bukovina. The years 1900 – 1916 were characterized by attempts to use its legally granted rights to a fuller extent than before, efforts reflected in the growth of the press and the educational system" (Shevelov 1989: 21).

There was some diversification of periodicals with many local and regional periodicals appearing, but an insufficient number of publications in the industrial and technological areas. Ukrainian society consisted primarily of peasants and intelligentsia. "Ukrainian aristocracy, wealthy bourgeoisie, and technological intelligentsia were virtually nonexistent, and the working class was small and underdeveloped", notes Shevelov (1989: 22). In the language, borrowings were mostly from Polish and German. A special Galician koine was cultivated by the periodical press. "Scholarly abstract terminology and technological terminology were at best in statu nascendi …" (Shevelov 1989: 22).

In Russian Ukraine the period of 1900 – 1905 is characterized by the complete lack of any Ukrainian schooling, church or press and by the sporadic publication of Ukrainian belles lettres and poetry, with almost no Ukrainian translations from foreign languages.

"A novelty of the period 1905 – 1914 was the de facto legalization of the Ukrainian language for scholarly use, primarily in the humanities" (Shevelov 1989: 44). Substantial developments took place in Ukrainian lexicography. In particular, the four-volume Ukrainian-Russian dictionary, edited by B. Hrinčenko, was published in Kyiv in 1907-1909. In this dictionary, much attention was given to technological terminology, but excessive regionalization was avoided.

> "The events of the first sixteen years of the twentieth century should have had, and did have, an impact on the standardization of the Ukrainian literary language and on its very structure. …the orientation on the peasant language was realized to be too narrow and the ties of the literary language to its underlying dialect(s) was to be reassessed and relaxed" (Shevelov 1989: 58).

The problem of a common Ukrainian standard language for all the Ukrainian territories was urgent. This period was characterized by the rejection of needless borrowings from Russian, Polish and German. The task was to urbanize the standard language and expand its dialectal base.

> "… the Ukrainian language's main function became to preserve the national cultural tradition as deposited in works of literature, and to be a political banner for a nation in the making, or, one should say, in the process of reviving on new modern foundations" (Shevelov 1989: 66).

One of the problems for expanding the functions of the Ukrainian language was the high level of illiteracy among Ukrainians (only 11.8% were educated in Kyiv Province, 10.7% - Podillja, 15.3% - Xerson and 24.4% - Katerynoslav; see Čaplenko 1955: 238-239). Ukrainian scientific language and terminology were in their infancy in Eastern Ukraine till 1905. There were no opportunities to develop them. Ukrainians were forced to resort to the method of coined words and borrowings. The method of coined words corresponded to the predominant puristic direction of the majority of creators of new terminology primarily in the Western Ukraine. The Western Ukrainian scholar Verxrats'kyj, though being a supporter of the ethnographic direction in word creation, supported such borrowings as

hramatyka 'grammar'
elektryčnyj 'electric'
kvadrat 'square'
kilohram 'kilogram'
mahnet 'magnet'
mylja 'mile'
pošta 'post office'
telehraf 'telegraph'

(see Čaplenko 1955: 259). Kryms'kyj was in favor of the international words *avtor* 'author,' *efekt* 'effect,' *anaxoret* 'anchorite,' because he could not replace them by Ukrainian ones. There was some danger of split (parallel use of forms in two parts of Ukraine) – foreign borrowings under the influence of Polish (*prokurator*, *Mefisto*, *emeryt*, *atut*, *as*, *lixtar*, *karafka*) and those under the influence of Russian language (*prokuror* 'prosecutor,' *Mefistofel'* 'Mephisto,' *pensioner* 'retired,' *kozyr* 'trump,' *tuz* 'ace,' *xvynar'* 'lantern,' *hraxvyn* 'water-bottle'; see Čaplenko 1955: 260).

This period can be characterized by a general broadening of the Ukrainian lexicon connected with culture, religion:

abat 'abbot'
abatysa 'abbotess'
mulla 'mullah'
musul'manyn 'Muslim'
protestant 'Protestant'
purytanyn 'Puritan'
reformacija 'The Reformation'
reformacijnyj 'reformational';

names of different notions and realia connected with the lifestyles, state constitution, history, and arts of foreign people:

bedujin 'bedouin'
emir 'emir'
prefekt 'prefect'
prokonsul 'proconsul'

komandor ‘commodore’
padyšax ‘padishah’
filippika ‘philippic’

(see IUM 1983: 555).

The period of the establishment of a vernacular in literary circulation was accompanied by the broadening of traditional thematic groups of Ukrainian lexicon and the formation of new ones.

According to Wexler (1974: 42), this period is characterized by extensive use of adopted Russian words primarily in the East, accommodated to Ukrainian phonological and morphological norms:

značinnja ‘meaning’ modeled on Russian *značenie*
osoblyvist’ ‘peculiarity’ on Russian *osobennost’*
predstavnyk ‘representative’ on Russian *predstavitel’*
roziznaty ‘to find out’ on Russian *razuznat.*’

Wexler is not quite correct here, at the very least, the word *značenije* is a Church Slavonicism, which in the modern Russian and Bulgarian languages became part of their lexical systems and is accepted correspondingly as a native word.

There was enthusiasm in some quarters in the Western Ukraine for the movement to compile technical terminologies from colloquial resources, because of all colloquial speech forms, the rural dialects enjoyed special importance in the eyes of many of the regulators since they were said to embody the purest forms of Ukrainian (Wexler 1974: 49).

Antonovyč, Verxrats’kyj, Domanyc’kyj and Ohijenko considered neologisms as a necessary source of enrichment for every language. Verxrats’kyj noted that the fear of introducing neologisms into the language on the part of some regulators had led to a reliance on foreign vocabulary. Purists realized that the creation of successful neologisms was not always an easy task. Verxrats'kyj blamed haste as the cause of poorly created neologisms. Many neologisms would not be understood by the native speakers but the language could not do without the resulting lexical additions (Wexler 1974: 67).

1.4. The Language Situation in the Years of the Struggle for Independence (1917-1920) and before Ukrainization (1920-1925)

The February revolution of 1917 had a deep impact on the developments in the territories of the former Russian empire. The analyzed period was very complicated and to some extent contradictory with respect to the development of the Ukrainian language: it witnessed a short period of the Ukrainian National Republic, and it was also the period when Ukrainian would be used later for the first time within the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. National rebirth and later subjugation of the language to the decrees and orders of the ruling Soviet leadership were only some of the contradictory factors in this brief, but very intense eight-year period.

> "... deposing of the tsar and the virtual end of the monarchy could not but deeply affect the Russian Ukraine. The immediate effect was the revival of an active political life on an uprecedented scale, which opened new prospects for the public use of the Ukrainian language"

– notes Shevelov (1989: 67). Diverse Ukrainian political parties appeared and a Ukrainian government was formed. The functions of the Ukrainian language usage in the formerly Russian Ukraine expanded greatly into the financial, scientific, judicial, military, and scientific spheres. On 20 November 1917 the

Ukrainian National Republic was proclaimed. "The political developments of the first year after the revolution … did not have as strong an impact on the use, status, and internal development of the Ukrainian language as, theoretically, they might have had" (Shevelov 1989: 68).

On 29 April 1918 the Central Rada was abolished and a monarchy with Pavlo Skoropads'kyj as hetman was proclaimed. This short period was marked by an active turn towards the Russian language. On 14 December 1918 the hetman's regime fell and the Ukrainian National Republic was reinstated.

"After a lapse of nearly two centuries, the Ukrainian language again became the language of state legislation, of state administration, of public gatherings, and of the army" (Shevelov 1989: 73). The Ukrainian language usage was diversified and expanded. The rise of Ukrainian periodicals as well as Ukrainian educational establishments, *himnaziji* 'secondary schools' in particular, can be pointed out . "…59 titles published in 1917-1919 were designed as manuals for self-instruction in the Ukrainian language, as compared with 11 such items published during the entire preceding century" (Shevelov 1989: 78). Fifteen Russian-Ukrainian dictionaries appeared during 1917-1919 as well as many terminological ones. Shevelov (1989: 79) notes that "the beginning of a switch from Russian to Ukrainian was clearly taking place". In order to fill the terminological gap, M. Hruševs'kyj proposed a combination of popular terminology, of Galician terminology, and of elements borrowed from the West European languages and Russian.

As a result of post-World War I developments, Ukraine was divided among four states: the nominally sovereign Ukrainian SSR on one hand, and Poland, Romania and Czechoslovakia on the other, where the conditions for the development and use of Ukrainian varied widely.

There were three occupations of Ukraine by Soviet Russia from 1918 to 1923. They were characterized by the crushing and dispersing Ukrainian institutions, publishing houses, etc. After complex historical events and despite the unfavorable circumstances, nevertheless, conditions for implementing the Ukrainian language were created.

There was an obvious contradiction between the legislation of the Soviet regime not prohibiting the Ukrainian language, and the real situation where it was barely tolerated. The numerous decrees of the Party and the Congress of Soviets on the status of the Ukrainian language and Ukrainian education actually showed the lack of progress in this domain.

According to Shevelov (1989: 95),

> "The actual state of the Ukrainian language during the years 1918-1924, under Soviet domination, shows ups and downs and an interplay of give and take. On the one hand, Ukrainian was never outlawed by the central government; on the other hand, the same government, and especially the party, found many of its manifestations undesirable."

The language of the state bureaucracy was Russian. "… the language absorbed a great number of Sovietisms in the areas of administration and ideology, which more often than not were loan translations from Russian, although many were not slavish translations" (Shevelov 1989: 107). An orientation toward native resources was more evident.

> "The language gap between the countryside and the cities, which neither time nor circumstances had allowed to be eliminated in the preceding period, became deeper and more blatant during the first five years of the Soviet regime. The situation cried out for change" (Shevelov 1989: 108).

I do not share Wexler's (1974: 110) ecstatic approach about "this dramatic change of status for Ukrainian … described in a resolution written by Lenin and adopted by the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party, meeting in Moscow, December 2-4, 1919 …" A decision of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party could not radically change the language situation in Ukraine. Let us not forget that many Bolshevik decrees were simply propagandistic in their nature. The situation was rather complex. Alongside the russificatory policies of the CC of the RCP the linguistic discussion took place in the 1920s obviously in the context of Ukrainization. This was not the only case when competing tendencies with respect to the development of the Ukrainian language occurred.

For the first time, scholars such as V. Hancov, O. Kurylo, S. Smerečyns'kyj, O. Synjavs'kyj and others participated broadly in linguistic discussions alongside amateurs, and linguistic institutes, especially in the East, played an important role in coordinating terminological activity. The orientation of the Ukrainian purists of that time was toward colloquial norms.

> "In their attitudes toward the native resources, regulators are divided into two groups: one group envisions a literary language broadly open to dialectalisms of diverse background and generally favors unique Ukrainian features (regardless of whether the forms are widely understood throughout the territory of Ukrainian speech, and regardless of whether they are archaic and no longer known in any of the contemporary dialects)" (Wexler 1974: 113-114).

This group was often oriented toward Galician technical terminological enrichment.

> "A second group disagrees with the extreme puristic principles of the ethnographic approach. Instead, the members of this "group" emphasize the importance of cultivating common norms rather than local or unique Ukrainian features which are to replace contemporary material shared by Polish or Russian" (Wexler 1974: 114).

They allowed some non-native enrichment in technical terminology.

> "Proponents of this "modified ethnographic approach" (our term) tend to set up as their mentor Taras Ševčenko (1814-61), who combined the contemporary colloquial with traditions of the old literary language as well as critical use of nonnative material" (Wexler 1974: 114).

As emphasized by Shevelov (EU 1993, 5: 9), the second group won:

> "It was, however, the school led by O. Syniavsky, which took into account not only tradition but also the development of the language, that gained the upper hand and determined the norms of orthography, orthoepy, morphology, and syntax".

1.5. The Language Situation in the Years of Ukrainization (1925-1932)

Ukrainization meant the expansion of the social functions of the Ukrainian language, its introduction into official use by state, political, social, cultural and educational establishments and by organizations in the 1920s in the territory of the Ukrainian SSR and in places of compact settlement of Ukrainians in other republics of the USSR.

In the 1920s some reasons for introducing the policy of Ukrainization emerged in Ukraine. To conduct a policy of 'building a new society' the Communist party had to rely on and mobilize the vast majority of the Ukrainian population, and in the villages Ukrainian was mostly used. The Party could not ignore the emerging Ukrainian element within its ranks, though this element was still very limited at that time.

> "As a body of official documents, decrees, and resolutions, the policy of Ukrainianization can be traced from the year 1923, or even from 1920. But as a series of practical measures implemented consistently and persistently, it hardly began earlier than 1925" (Shevelov 1989: 109).

Among the decrees issued by the government were the decrees of 30 April 1925 "On measures for the speedy completion of Ukrainianization in the Soviet State machinery" and on 16 July 1925 "On practical measures for the Ukrainianization of the Soviet State machinery". Not later than 1 January 1926 "… the exclusive use of Ukrainian is required of all civil servants" (Shevelov 1989: 113). Employees at governmental offices, students at educational establishments should pass an examination in the Ukrainian language. For the first time Ukrainian language could be learnt for pursuing a career. "In 1926, the identification of the Ukrainian culture and language with the village was flatly rejected, as was any assertion of the superior character of the Russian culture and language" (Shevelov 1989: 115). In the military, the Russian language continued to be used. There was great success in the Ukrainianization of the elementary schools. "The Ukrainianization of the press reached 68.8 percent in 1930, and 87.5 percent in 1932" (Shevelov 1989: 117).

The implementation of the policy of Ukrainization was not simple. The party itself was neither persistent nor consistent in pursuing this policy. On the other hand, some people (especially in Russified industrial cities) did not welcome this policy at all. There was an obvious contradiction between this policy and the policy of federalism, “internationalism”, etc. within the USSR. As Shevelov (1989: 121-122) notes: “… resistance to Ukrainianization was strong within the party, in the trade unions and in the state institutions …” Given the time constraints, there was some feeling of the artificiality of “imposing” the Ukrainian language. “The social basis for the policy of Ukrainianization was thin: in fact, it comprised only the Ukrainian intelligentsia that belonged to or sympathized with the Communist party. The proletariat and the middle class were at best indifferent” – comments Shevelov (1989: 122). The Ukrainian element constituted a minority in the party, so evidently only this minority supported the policy of Ukrainianization.

This period is characterized by compilation of terminological dictionaries. Shevelov (1989: 130) observes: “Virtually all dictionaries published in 1925-1932 were Russian-Ukrainian or Ukrainian-Russian. There were almost no dictionaries based on languages other than Russian …”

Great efforts were put to normalize the language and according to Shevelov (1989: 131) this was “… the most important novelty of the period” and “never before was the spelling and the morphology of the Ukrainian language codified in such detail and precision” (1989: 132). Not all of the words of this period were absorbed by the language and some of them were not used later. Compounding and affixation were among actively used means of word formation (according to the same author). Linguists were divided into two schools: 1) the ethnographic school, based primarily in Kyiv, which was extremely puristic (represented by A. Kryms’kyj, Je. Tymčenko, O. Kurylo in her early writings, M.

Hladkyj, S. Smerečyns'kyj, V. Simovyč (early writings) and I. Ohijenko) and 2) the synthetic group, based in Kharkiv, which was moderately puristic (represented by O. Synjavs'kyj, M. Sulyma, M. Nakonečnyj, O. Kurylo in her later writings; close to them stood V. Hancov and A. Nikovs'kyj (see Shevelov 1989: 138). The Kyiv school was more categorical in its prescriptions than the Kharkiv one. According to Shevelov (1989: 138), "for instance, on its [Kyiv school's – V.P.] recommendation *ekvator* 'equator' was to be replaced by *rivnyk*, *paralel'nyj* 'parallel' by *rivnobižnyj*, *konus* 'conus' by *stižok*, *sektor* 'sector' by *vytynok*, *štepsel'* 'plug' by *prytyčka*, *kursyv* 'italics' by *pys'mivka*, etc."

There was a tremendous need for creating neologisms as the natural reaction to expanding the use of Ukrainian in all spheres of life. "With Ukrainian standardizing activities in full swing in the East, the minority Western speakers were robbed of much of their strength to stand at the forefront of Ukrainian prescriptive intervention" (Wexler 1974: 152). There was an understanding among some Eastern Ukrainian scientists that Western Ukrainian technical terminology could be used for creating standard Ukrainian terminology. I. Ohijenko favored Galician legal terminology, Kravčuk – Galician mathematical terminology, and in favor of some Galician material were Vysoc'kyj, Horec'kyj and Xolodnyj from Eastern Ukraine (see Wexler 1974: 153). "Normalization is characterized as inevitable in every language, but so far Ukrainian has never been fully standardized" – concludes Wexler (1974: 136).

> "For all its artificiality, groundlessness, internal contradictions, tragicomic excesses and zigzags, Ukrainianization reasserted the existence of Ukrainian as a standard language, rather than just a sum of rural dialects. It extended the mastery of that standard language through

> various strata of the population, and contributed to its survival during the coming years of constraint and persecution" (Shevelov 1989: 140).

1.6. The Language Situation between 1933 and 1941

The arrival of Pavel Postyšev in Kharkiv to lead the Ukrainian communists in January 1933 clearly marked the end of Ukrainianization. By that time the Ukrainian peasantry as a class had been severely undermined and all possible measures had been taken to turn it into collective farmers. There was no longer any need to please them. As Shevelov (1989: 142) remarks:

> "The policy of Ukrainianization was not formally abrogated either by Postyšev or by any other party or government official. Ukrainian culture, and the Ukrainian language …, should follow the dictum "national in form but proletarian/socialist in content", coined by Stalin as early as 1925, although launched only at the Sixteenth Congress of the CPSU in 1930".

In the same year two proponents of Ukrainianization, M. Skrypnyk and M. Xvyl'ovyj, committed suicide.

> "The most pernicious aspect of Postyšev's policy lay not in the prohibition of the Ukrainian language nor in the formal abolition of Ukrainianization, but in the nearly total destruction of Ukrainian intellectuals. 15 organizations were fabricated [i.e., falsified] and their 'members' persecuted"

– notes Shevelov (1989: 143). The Ukrainian SSR government's authorities were severely curtailed. "The achievements of Ukrainianization, small as they were, in inculcating the Ukrainian language as a medium of communication in urban everyday life were struck down. Russian was fully reinstalled in that function …" (Shevelov 1989: 146).

Ukrainian culture was severely undermined with the fall of the level of literature and art. "Superficially, however, Ukrainian remained the predominant language in the Ukraine. Statistically, the number of Ukrainian schools, press organs, theatres, and published books exceeded Russian ones, although these were on the rise" – remarks Shevelov (1989: 146). There was no mention of the Ukrainian language in the Constitution of 1937. The situation after the terror of 1933-1934 was even worse, and as Shevelov (1989: 149) remarks: "The terror of 1937-1938 was much more intense than that of 1933-1934 …"

On 20 April 1938 a decree concerning the compulsory teaching of the Russian language in all Ukrainian schools was issued. "In education, an increasing number of schools in urban and industrial centers were de-Ukrainianized; these switched in part, under Zatons'kyj, to dual Ukrainian-Russian usage and later to instruction in Russian" (Shevelov 1989: 151). During this period there was a decline in the production of Ukrainian books, and a corresponding growth of Russian materials (books, newspapers, etc.) was noticed. In these conditions a decline of the prestige of the Ukrainian language was observed. A process of denationalization started to take place.

This period was also characterized by the severe promotion of the antipurist movement.

> "The charge against the "bourgeois nationalists" referred specifically to the seven following points: (1) rejection of neologisms coined during the revolutionary epoch; (2) rejection of international words; (3) rejection of language components common to those in languages of the other Soviet republics, especially Russian; (4) attempts to inculcate language components having a class enemy character; (5) attempts to spread feudal and bourgeois ideology through language; (6) attempts to spread artificially created language components; and (7) distortion in the meaning of many notions, especially those political and economic"

– observes Shevelov (1989: 155-156). The fight against "bourgeois linguistics" was going on in terminology, syntax, lexicography, even spelling. New terminological dictionaries had to appear replacing the previous ones. "The main targets of the attack were the chief representatives of the ethnographic trend in Ukrainian linguistics …" – notes Shevelov (1989: 158). Some representatives of the moderate trend were also included. The task was set up "to bring Ukrainian closer to Russian – a political problem, not a scholarly one" (Shevelov 1989: 159). In a new *Ukrajins'kyj pravopys* preference was given to forms resembling Russian, e.g., *ximija* 'chemistry' instead of *xemija*, *lampa* 'lamp' instead of *ljampa*, *Jevropa* 'Europe' instead of *Evropa*. The same reliance on Russian was evident in adopting loan words. "Instability seemed to be an inherent feature of the Ukrainian language, in contrast to Russian, which suffered no upheaval of any kind. The already damaged prestige of Ukrainian sank further" – mentions Shevelov (1989: 167).

> "In fact, the years between 1933 and 1941 was a period of systematic and frontal attack against the Ukrainian culture and language, as well as against the Ukrainian intelligentsia. It brought about the Russification of many speakers of Ukrainian; it precluded the planned growth in the use of Ukrainian in cities and industrial centers; and it caused many speakers of Ukrainian to develop feelings of servility and fear" (Shevelov 1989: 172).

Movoznavstvo (1934-39), the organ of the Institute of Linguistics of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, showed dissatisfaction with earlier principles. Ukrainian regulators of the 1920s were blamed for trying to tear apart the Ukrainian and Russian languages, for opposing them to each other and in this opposition giving preference to Ukrainian. Western Ukrainian material already incorporated into standard Ukrainian was treated like dialectalisms, archaisms, etc. "Dialectalisms are defined now specifically as elements not shared with Russian but shared with Polish" – observes Wexler (1974: 158). Russian affixes were being used extensively, squeezing out natural Ukrainian ones. As Wexler (1974: 160) notes: "Equivalence between Russian and Ukrainian technical terminologies is also advocated". Preference was given to internationalisms over the words of native resources. Practically all internationalisms were entering Ukrainian through Russian. "Regulators are now less enthusiastic than their predecessors about neologisms as a potential source of enrichment" – observes Wexler (1974: 163).

1.7. The Language Situation in Western Ukraine (1920-1939)

> "In July 1918, Romania occupied Bukovina; by May 1919, the regions of Pidljašia, Xolm (Chelm), Ukrainian Polissia, and Western Volhynia were occupied by Poland; in July of the same year the Polish occupation of Galicia was completed; after the temporary division of Transcarpathia among Czech, Hungarian, and Romanian military forces, in September 1919, the region became part of Czecho-Slovakia"

– writes Shevelov (1989: 175).

Ukrainian Lands under Poland

In Poland officially the Ukrainians were guaranteed free development of culture and language. The reality of the situation was rather different.

Officially Polish was not considered a state language, but particular laws elevated it to this status. "Exceptions to the exclusive use of the Polish language were permitted in the five *wojewodztwa* of Lviv, Stanyslaviv, Ternopil,' Volhynia, and Polissia" - comments Shevelov (1989: 178). Though the existence of Ukrainian schools was permitted by local authorities, it was certainly not encouraged by them. The Polish establishment in its majority was hostile towards the dissemination of Ukrainian education. As Shevelov observes (1989: 180): "The crucial years in the decrease of Ukrainian schools were the first half of the 1920s." Ukrainian high and professional schools remained only in Galicia. Being in this subordinate position, Ukrainians unleashed terror against Poles and Poles against Ukrainians. According to Shevelov (1989: 183): "[The] Greek Catholic church ... remained a bulwark of Ukrainian culture and language". The same author (Shevelov 1989: 186) also mentions that "the Greek Catholic church, which was very influential in Galicia, continued the tradition of using a Ukrainian variant of Church Slavonic as its liturgical language and the Lviv koine or dialect of Ukrainian in sermons and communication with parishioners". Ukrainians were very active in business and the economy, organizing cooperatives. The most famous among them were *Maslosojuz* and *Centrosojuz*. According to Shevelov (1989: 183): "Both quantitative growth and diversification characterize the Ukrainian press in Galicia at this time".

The Ukrainian language was perceived by many Ukrainians under Polish rule as a feature of national identity and pride, though, as Shevelov (1989: 185) notes: "The Polish language remained more prestigious ..." Maybe for the first time the technical intelligentsia was using Ukrainian. It was not easy to reconcile the spelling rules of the Central Ukraine with the Galician tradition. As Shevelov observes: "Lexicographical work was very limited" (1989: 190) and "In sum, the linguistic work carried on in Polish Ukraine was an important counterbalance to the devastation in Ukrainian linguistics that occurred under the Soviets in the 1930s" (1989: 191). The situation of the Ukrainian language under Polish regime was a lesser evil in comparison with its situation under the Soviets.

Ukrainian Lands under Romania

According to Shevelov, there were three periods in the Ukrainian language development in the Ukrainian territories under Romanian rule: 1) 1918-1928 – a total negation of all things Ukrainian. The Ukrainian language was not taught at all (Shevelov 1989: 194-195). "In ecclesiastical life, the Orthodox church was completely dominated by Romanians. Ukrainian priests were required to preach in Romanian" (Shevelov 1989: 196); 2) 1928-1936 – a certain degree of liberalization. The teaching of the Ukrainian language was introduced and then cancelled in 1933. The summer Ukrainian language courses became popular (Shevelov 1989: 196-197). By 1937 Bukovyna had at least fifteen Ukrainian societies of various types, e.g., cultural, feminist, student (Shevelov 1989: 197). Ukrainian periodicals were published during this period. 3) 1937-1938 – the establishment of military dictatorship, the introduction of the new constitution. The "liberal" course of the preceding decade had ended (see, 1989: 198). "Its [the Ukrainian language's – V.P.] status in the church was very precarious" (Shevelov 1989: 198).

In June 1940 the Soviets occupied Ukrainian lands that had been under Romania. They installed the same order as existed in the rest of the Soviet empire. Ukrainian was restricted mostly to domestic use.

Transcarpathia under Czecho-Slovakia

From May 1919 Transcarpathia was under the rule of Czecho-Slovakia. “Some considered the local language to be Ruthenian” – notes Shevelov (1989: 200). There was a great impact on local population by Galicians who promoted the standard Ukrainian language based on literary Ukrainian as used in Galicia. Social and public life was developing in the ČSR and the role of the Ukrainian language was growing. There was also growth of economic potential, business, including the Ukrainian one. Terminology (including business one) was borrowed from Galicia. Despite unfavorable general conditions, the Ukrainian language was strengthening its positions, including the economic sector.

The Ukrainian language did make significant progress there, especially in light of the bleak picture under Hungarian rule before and during the First World War.

There was constant opposition between Ukrainophiles and Russophiles and in this battle finally Ukrainophiles were losing. The administration, which initially promoted Ukrainian, shifted to Russian. Later first steps were made to Czechization of the region (see Shevelov 1989: 209). In October 1938, following the dismemberment of the Czecho-Slovak Republic, actual autonomy was granted to Transcarpathia, marking its brief independence and by March 1939 Hungarian occupation of Transcarpathia was complete (see Shevelov 1989: 210).

In general, Shevelov observes a “policy of compartmentalizing the territory where the Ukrainian language was spoken” (1989: 214) under the Soviet, Polish, Romanian and Czecho-Slovakian governments. At this stage undoubtedly

Ukrainian (with all the aforementioned problems) had enough potential to serve the cultural needs of the people who used it. Ukrainian was not used on a constant basis in urban and industrial centres.

Concluding, Shevelov (1989: 223) says:

> "Such dependence on the language of the ruling nation was a major handicap for the normal development of the Ukrainian language and, in fact, the growth of more than the language. It was one more manifestation of the incompleteness of the Ukrainian language in the first half of the twentieth century".

1.8. The Language Situation in 1941-1945

From June 1941 until 1944 Ukraine was under German occupation. Wexler (1974: 173) writes about this period:

> "Participants of wartime discussions intentionally link themselves to the puristic principles enunciated by Western Ukrainian purists in the 1920s and 1930s and in the Eastern Ukraine throughout the 1920s. While wartime regulators propose restoring the principles of the 1920s, they offer little that is original".

During war, a few dictionaries were published by the Dictionary Division of the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Berlin.

In Wexler's (1974: 173) opinion:

> "Regulators in both the Eastern and Western Ukraine under the German occupation share the spirit of restoration of puristic norms, but Westerners perhaps tend to favor a predominantly ethnographic approach (i.e., loan translations and neologisms) while Easterners lean toward a modified ethnographic approach (i.e., some international enrichment)".

Preference was given to common variants over dialectal forms. Trying to oppose constant pressures in the wartime period both from German and Russian, the regulators tended to use native resources. Localisms could be used on a limited basis and could not be spread over entire region. "Wartime regulators seem to reject the extreme puristic principle of avoiding cognates shared with Russian and Polish" – comments Wexler (1974: 175). It was not easy in wartime conditions to work on the replacement of foreign elements by native equivalents. In technical Ukrainian the emphasis was put on replacement of international terms by native terms or neologisms.

> "Foreign (frequently international) words which have long been accepted in the spoken language, such as international *nacija* 'nation,' *nacionalist* 'nationalist,' *profesor* 'professor,' German *tancjuvannja* 'dancing,' are not subject to elimination, since they are no longer felt to be foreign in the language and do not displace native equivalents" – writes Wexler (1974: 177).

The following words were adopted from German into Ukrainian during this period:

abver 'Abwehr'
gavljajter 'Gauleiter'
gestapo 'Gestapo'
junkers 'Junkers'
kaput 'kaputt'
rajx 'Reich'
total'nyj 'total'
faterljand 'Faterland'
fjurer 'Führer'
frau 'Frau'
šnaps 'Schnaps'

(see IUM 1983: 569).

During this period there was a clear discrepancy between the declaration of wartime purists and the practice of adopting foreign words into Ukrainian.

1.9. The Language Situation in 1946-1953

The postwar period was characterized by a reversion to the principles of the 1930s. "There is no mention of wartime discussions or of restoring puristic principles" – admits Wexler (1974: 182). Dissatisfaction is being expressed with certain puristic principles of the 1920s.

> "The purists of the 1920s are specifically accused of emphasizing the formation of neologisms, of avoiding similarities with Russian, of advocating enrichment from Galician and other dialects (Galician is treated as a dialect and not as a literary tradition), and of introducing archaisms into the literary language"

– writes Wexler (1974: 182). The influence of the Russian language was actively promulgated. More attention was being paid to the speech of the urban areas because the population living in them was more inclined towards usage of Russian or switching from Ukrainian into Russian. According to Wexler (1974: 184), "the language of rural communities may be cultivated only if it is in tune with contemporary Soviet life".

This period was characterized by extensive borrowing from Russian especially in the lexical domain. Ukrainian syntactical structures were also brought closer to Russian. "As important means of enriching the lexical storehouse of Ukrainian, and of activating many features in Ukrainian which heretofore have been unproductive, is the translation of Marxist-Leninist classics from Russian into Ukrainian" – writes Wexler (1974: 185). Even international vocabulary was being borrowed into Ukrainian through Russian. Russian in this case appeared to be the only source of enriching Ukrainian.

1.10. The Language Situation in 1953-1969

"The relaxation in relations with the outside world that came with Stalin's death in 1953 did not have much immediate effect on the vocabulary" – write Comrie, Stone and Polinsky (1996: 210) regarding the Russian language. The same statement can be made regarding the Ukrainian language. Limited cultural and educational contacts with foreign countries became possible though the grip of the system was still very strong. Foreign cultural phenomena became more and more popular and they found their reflection in borrowed vocabulary. The development of tourism also had its impact on lexicon, popularizing and expanding intercultural and international communication. The expansion of vocabulary was bigger than in the pre-war and immediate after-war years. Borrowings primarily from English were more used than in previous periods.

Khrushchev's "thaw" in the early 60s brought about a revival of culture. The Ukrainian *šistdesjatnyky* 'people of the 60s' (a small group of Ukrainian intelligentsia, primarily writers, artists, etc.) took a firm stand in defense of Ukrainian language, culture and history. "The term *puryzm* 'purism' remains a taboo word in popular circles, but some regulators express themselves in favor of *čystota movy* 'purity of the language,' "one of the most important signs of language cultivation", and talk about *kul'tura movy* 'cultivation of the language'" – remarks Wexler (1974: 190-191). One of the books that had resonance effect was *Jak my hovorymo* 'The Way We Speak' by Borys Antonenko-Davydovyč (1970), covering important issues of *čystota* and *kul'tura movy.* The publications by A. P. Koval' (1964), other researchers like Je. D. Čak., M. T. Ryl's'kyj, V. V. Koptilov on *kul'tura movy*, while they had to pay homage to Marxist-Leninist works, Party guidelines, etc., but did have at least some impact on the actual state of affairs showing that Ukrainian is different from Russian, Ukrainian has its own rules and tendencies of development. These efforts should be neither exaggerated nor neglected. The efforts of the *šistdesjatnyky* to defend the Ukrainian culture and language were enormous though the conditions in general were very unfavorable. The process of Russification can be vividly illustrated by Kalinovič (1962), which was actually nicknamed the *rosijs'ko-rosijs'kyj slovnyk* 'Russian-Russian dictionary.' "Forms dissimilar to Russian are specifically rejected in favor of variants shared by two languages" – mentions Wexler (1974: 187). It can be evidenced by many publications devoted to the topic (see, for example, Jižakevyč 1969). International words were also borrowed through Russian: "In keeping with the principle of areal convergence with Russian, international and other foreign material which is used in Russian is also recommended for Ukrainian" (Wexler 1974: 189). International terms had to keep the same phonological shape as in Russian. That is why Contemporary Ukrainian has *xokej* instead of *hokej* 'hockey,' *xoldynh* instead of *holdynh* 'holding.' English borrowings were mostly coming via Russian, first used by central newspapers and later duplicated by republican ones.

There was an attempt to revive dialectal enrichment, archaisms and Galician forms.

Wexler (1974: 185) points out the generally poor quality of linguistic discussions. Terminological research was resumed with the creation of a Dictionary Commission at the Institute of Linguistics of the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (see EU 1993, 5: 198). Since then, over 20 specialized Russian-

Ukrainian dictionaries have been published. According to Shevelov (EU 1993, 5: 198),

> "The puristic approach of the 1920s had been abandoned, and the dictionaries were based on the Russian language. Only in exceptional cases were all synonyms for a term provided, and then one of them – the one identical or similar to the Russian – recommended".

The policy of Russification conducted by the state and party officials severely curtailed the natural development of the Ukrainian language, its natural replenishment and improvement.

1.11. The Language Situation in 1970-1985

This period was especially unfavorable to the development of the Ukrainian language. A political reaction set in after Khrushchev's "thaw". In 1972 arrests of several representatives of the Ukrainian intelligentsia followed. Foreign borrowings (with the exception of borrowings from Russian, which was not considered a foreign language by the communist establishment) in the Ukrainian language were discouraged. The policy of Russification was squeezing out the use of the Ukrainian language in the limited domains where it still existed. This period is characterized by an immense spread of the "ideologically correct Ukrainian language" (for the similar case with Russian, see, Zemtsov 1984[5]).

"Linguistic policies in Soviet Ukraine were visibly political policies that directed the language on how to change in order to achieve symmetry with the Russian or blending of the Soviet languages" – remarks Onyshkevych (1999:

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[5] As noted in the Preface "His book reveals the systematic effort of the Soviet leadership to create an entirely new communist language for using communications to subdue the masses to their will" (1984: ix).

157). This period is characterized by creating clumsy phraseological expressions, like *myrne spivisnuvannja deržav z riznym suspil'nym ladom* 'peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems,' *rozrjadka mižnarodnoji napruženosti* 'relaxation of international tension.' Mostly they were calques from Russian and little originality was revealed in this respect. Similar moments with Russian were highlighted and underlined, and not different ones. There was a theory of *sovetskij narod* 'Soviet nation' developed during Brezhnev period and *sovetskij narod* eventually had to use one language – Russian.

Many words, expressions, etc. (examples are taken from the magazine *Ukrajina* for 1973) were constantly used, inadequately representing the real societal situation. Later some of them will be used during the period I analyze in the second chapter (1991-2001), quite often having ironic or sarcastic connotation. Ryazanova-Clarke & Wade (1999: 67) mention that "Some words and phrases had earlier stood for concepts which had only demagogic value and which had not been supported by reality." Ilya Zemtsov (1984: xiii) in the introduction to his book provides a classification of the Soviet language lexicon[6]. Obviously there is the third category where fiction and non-fiction are so intermingled that it is impossible to refer the term (mostly it is a long word combination) either to the first or the second category.

- Among words and expressions belonging to the first, 'phenomena word,' category (for the rest of this list, see Appendix 1):

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[6] "The Soviet language has two basic components: fictions which Communist ideology proclaims as reality and realities which are proferred in the guise of fictions. This has led to two diverse but not opposite categories in the Soviet language. The first consists of phenomena words, which, even if they distort fact, bear some correspondence to Soviet realities: e.g., "collective farm", "board of honor", "whitewashing", and "counter plan". The second category consists of fiction words which project images devoid of any social basis in Soviet reality: e.g., "vanguard", "fighting spirit", "internal Party democracy", "friendship between the peoples", "idealism".

bahatostraždal'na zemlja V"jetnamu – 'long suffering land of Vietnam'
kolhospni nyvy – 'collective farm sown fields'
nevtomni trudivnyci – 'tireless female workers'
politzanjattja – 'political studies'
radjans'ki budivel'nyky – 'Soviet builders/construction workers'

- Among words and expressions belonging to the second, 'demagogic value,' category (for the rest of this list, see Appendix 2):

braters'ke jednannja narodiv – 'fraternal unity of nations'
družba na vični časy – 'eternal friendship'[7]
jty virnym lenins'kym šljaxom – 'to follow the true Leninist way'
komunistyčna perspektyva – 'Communist perspective'
monolitna jednist' – 'monolithic unity'

- Among words and expressions belonging to the third, 'mixed,' category:

kolhosp "Šljax do komunizmu" – 'collective farm "Road to communism"'[8]
lenins'kyj plan pobudovy socializmu – 'Leninist plan of building socialism'
majster vysokyx urožajiv – 'master of high harvests'
polum"jane slovo partiji ta urjadu – 'flaming word of the party and government'
prohrama socialistyčnoho peretvorennja sil's'koho hospodarstva – 'programme of the socialist transformation of agriculture'
rozvynene socialistyčne suspil'stvo – 'developed socialist society'.

A typical example of writing in the Soviet era is this sentence where nouns derived from surnames are used:

> *A dali dovelosja stavaty na prju z avstro-nimec'kymy okupantamy, petljurivcjamy, denikincjamy, vranhelivcjamy, maxnovcjamy, bilopoljakamy* (*Ukrajina*, January 1973, 4: 24)[9].
> 'And then we had to fight with Austrian-German occupants, followers of Petljura, Denikin, Vrangel,' Maxno, and the White Poles.'

Metaphors and exaggeration were typical features of that period: *Stalinhrad! Vohnjana kvitka našoji istoriji, hordist' stolit' i narodiv!* (*Ukrajina,*

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[7] title of an article in *Ukrajina*, March 1973, 9: 1
[8] *šljax do komunizmu* was also very popular combination
[9] They are not used anymore because of strong negative ideological connotation.

February 1973, 5: 9). 'Stalingrad! Fiery flower of our history, pride of centuries and nations!

The word *červonyj* 'red' could be used three times in a short poem "*Červona slava*" 'Red Glory' (see Appendix 3).

Many honorary titles were introduced to glorify hard work, titles that are now defunct:

> *U kolhospi vstanovleno perexidni vympely: "Majster kolhospnoho polja", "Majster po vyrobnyctvu jalovyčyny", "Majster po vyrobnyctvu svynyny"* (*Ukrajina*, February 1973, 5: 15).
> 'In the collective farm challenge banners were introduced: "Master of the collective farm field", "Master in the production of beef", "Master in the production of pork".'

Acronyms were abundantly used:

NOT – naukova orhanizacija praci 'scientific organization of labor'

NTR – naukovo-texnična revoljucija 'scientific and technological revolution'

NTP – naukovo-texničnyj prohres 'scientific and technological progress.'

Sentence of the type: *Tysjači propahandystiv, lektoriv, politinformatoriv, ahitatoriv – aktyvnyx bijciv partiji pracjujut' u partijnyx orhanizacijax Kyjivščyny* 'Thousands of propagandists, lecturers, political informers, agitators – active party fighters work in the party organizations of Kyiv region' (*Ukrajina*, March 1973, 12: 3) were common of that period (note that the words such as *propahandysty, politinformatory, ahitatory, aktyvni bijci partiji* are not used anymore).

1.12. The Language Situation in 1985-1991

With perestroika (Ukrainian *perebudova*) the process of liberalization and democratization of the Ukrainian language began. Gorbachev's perestroika was aimed at envigorating the Soviet system, trying to rekindle it and to give a new impetus. But from the beginning there was a contradiction between the rigidity of the system and efforts to reform it. It was not easy to reform the system and still preserve the leading role of the Communist party in the society.

With the policy of glasnost ("openness") it became possible to criticize different aspects of life of the society. "[…] From the linguistic point of view, there was an impulse to call a spade a spade and to seek the real meanings of words which had been obscured by the ideological mire" (Ryazanova-Clarke & Wade 1999: 66).

The Ukrainian term *perebudova* was widely used for the period of Soviet transformation (approximately 6 years, starting with Gorbachev's initiative in 1985 and ending with the collapse of the USSR in 1991). Now it is practically impossible to find this word *perebudova* in contemporary political discourse. Quite often *perestroika* is used ironically in Contemporary Ukrainian referring to any unfinished process, and the chaos and uncertainty accompanying it. The Russian word *katastrojka* (*katastrofa* + *perestrojka*) 'catastrophe + perestroika' was later used, with limited application, also in Ukrainian. Such words as *zastij* 'stagnation,' *hlasnist'* 'glasnost,' *neformal'ni ob"jednannja* 'informal organizations' (shortened variant *neformaly*) become very popular. At that period Ukraine was still within the USSR and words such as these from political discourse were simply translated from Russian. The word *mankurt* 'zombie,' launched by Chingiz Aitmatov in *I dol'še veka dlitsja den'* 'A Day Lasts Longer Than a Century' (see Ryazanova-Clarke & Wade 1999: 72) was very popular in Russian and Ukrainian. It is widely used even now in literature, newspapers, to describe people who have lost their national identity, and do not know their language: *Mankurtam typu ščerbyc'kyx ne treba bulo nacional'nyx podvyžnykiv na nyvi ridnoji kul'tury j literatury* 'Zombies of the Ščerbyc'kyj type did not need national warriors in the field of native culture and literature' (*Vsesvit* 1999, 11-12: 137).

Some new stump compounds were formed: *deržzamovlennja* 'state standards control,' *inofirma* 'foreign firm,' *telemarafon* 'telethon.' Clipped compounds[10] like *oboronka (oboronna promyslovist')* 'defence industry' definitely recall Russian ones, as well as zero-suffixed derivatives like *mižrehional* 'member of an inter-regional group of people's deputies' (Ryazanova-Clarke & Wade 1999: 72), *nelehal* 'illegal worker'[11], *humanitarka* 'humanitarian aid'[12], *avtokefal* 'member of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church'[13], *rehional* 'member of the regional group.'

New acronyms appeared calquing Russian: *ZMOP (zahin miliciji osoblyvoho pryznačennja)* 'special police unit' (analogous to Russian *OMON 'otrjad miliciji osoboho naznačenija'), VKV (vil'no konvertovana valjuta)* 'freely convertible currency' (analogous to Russian *SKV 'svobodno konvertiruemaja valjuta')* (see Ryazanova-Clarke & Wade 1999: 73). The interesting tendency with *ZMOP* is that to name this branch of the police the word *zmopivci* was at first used, but nowadays only *omonivci*. This tendency is evident with other Russian acronyms, which previously were translated into Ukrainian and now are used in their Russian form. Quite often the Russian form *sovjec'kyj* for 'Soviet' is used, though in the former Soviet Union the form *radjans'kyj* was used.

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[10] Terms originated in *perebudova* period (1985-1991), but examples are taken from the period (1991-2001)

[11] "*Nelehaly" na zarobitkax* "'Illegals" working for payment'

[12] *Jevrosojuz ne zabuv pro "humanitarku" Ukrajini* 'The European Union did not forget about "humanitarian aid" to Ukraine'

[13] *Avtokefaly na porozi vyznannja* 'Autocephals are on the eve of recognition'

New expressions appeared describing the previous economic and political system: *komandno-administratyvna systema* 'command and administrative system,' *komandno-administratyvni metody* 'command and administrative methods,' *partokratija* 'partocracy' (see analogous forms in Russian in Ryazanova-Clarke & Wade 1999: 73). The following words, phrases and expressions were formed:

> *arxitektor perebudovy* 'the architect of perestroika'
> *bili pljamy istoriji* 'skeletons in the historical cupboard'
> *humanitarna dopomoha* (later *humanitarka)* 'humanitarian aid'
> *zahal'nojevropejs'kyj dim* 'the common European home'
> *zahal'noljuds'ki cinnosti* 'shared human values'
> *mitynhuvaty* 'to rally'
> *nove myslennja* 'new thinking'
> *parad suverenitetiv* 'declaration of sovereignty by Soviet republics and national regions'
> *pravova deržava* 'state based on the rule of law'
> *tin'ovyk* 'shady businessman'
> *šokova terapija* 'shock therapy'

(for Russian examples, see Ryazanova-Clarke & Wade 1999: 73-75).

There was a strong demand to update the language, to adjust it to the process of democratization unleashed in the society. Clumsy and bureaucratic, the ideologically charged language of the totalitarian society had to give way to the updated language of the post-totalitarian society. Stereotypes and cliches used previously were not considered appropriate anymore (see Serbens'ka 1989). Authors (see, for example, Serbens'ka 1989: 12) draw close attention to the precise meaning of the words. The period of *perebudova* allowed the Ukrainian language to depart partially from imposed Russian patterns and models and to seek its own natural way of development using all the possible internal and external resources.

1.13. Conclusions

As shown in the foregoing, the Ukrainian language has gone through really difficult periods in its existence. For the most part the situations under which the Ukrainian language developed were unfavorable.

I will try briefly to review and summarize my periodization:

The nineteenth century. Though being divided in the nineteenth century between the Austro-Hungarian and Russian Empires, the Ukrainian territory witnessed a development of the Ukrainian language. Under Russian rule this development was severely curtailed by the Valuev memorandum of 1863 and the Ems ukase of 1876. The second half of the nineteenth century was a period of intensive development for the Ukrainian language, especially its specialized lexicon, with Galicia being at the center of literary and scholarly activity. The non-state status of the Ukrainian language was one of the biggest obstacles for its development. The greatest achivement of nineteenth century, in my opinion, was the creation of the foundation of the Ukrainian literary language. This period was characterized by an intensive replenishment of the Ukrainian language with neologisms, borrowings mostly from the Polish and Russian languages, term creations on a native basis.

1900-1916. The years 1900-1916 witnessed some growth for the Ukrainian press and the educational system. The period of 1905-1914 was the period of legalization of the Ukrainian language for scholarly use. The period is marked by an intensive lexicographic endeavors like Hrinčenko's dictionary of 1907-1909 and is also characterized by a general broadening of the Ukrainian lexicon. During the First World War any relaxation of the Ems ukase after 1905 within the Russian Empire were rescinded. This applied to Galicia as well during the relatively brief Russian occupation of that territory.

1917-1925. Shevelov (1989: 73) gives high praise to the years 1917-1920 confirming them as a monumental period in the development of the Ukrainian language: "… the advances in status made by the Ukrainian language in the critical years 1917-1920 were substantial, and in many respects crucial, in comparison with the preceding decades. After a lapse of nearly two centuries, the Ukrainian language again became the language of state legislation, of state administration, of public gatherings, and of the army". The years 1918-1924 showed ups and downs in the functioning of the Ukrainian language under Soviet domination. The period was characterized by an absorption of a great number of Sovietisms, linguistic discussion among representatives of the ethnographic (extremely puristic) and 'modified ethnographic' (less puristic) approaches, where the representatives of the second group won.

1925-1932. The process of Ukrainization, initiated by the Party in the Soviet Ukraine, in spite of all its incompleteness, inconsistency and contradictions, brought the opportunity to expand and often to introduce the use of Ukrainian in state, political, social, cultural and educational establishments, which in its turn, led to the development of the language itself. The great success of Ukrainization in the elementary school and in the press should be mentioned here.

This period was characterized by compilation of terminological dictionaries. Great efforts were made to normalize the language.

1933-1941. "Stalin's abolition of the policy of Ukrainization in the early 1930s and his suppression of Ukrainian national and cultural life was accompanied by bureaucratic attempts to restrict the use of Standard Ukrainian. Western Ukrainianisms and European loanwords existing in Ukrainian but not in Russian were expunged, and the language was reoriented toward the eastern Ukrainian dialects and Russian vocabulary and grammar" (EU 1993, 5: 9). This period was characterized by the physical elimination of Ukrainian intellectuals, systematic attacks against Ukrainian culture and language, a strong turn toward Russian and attempts to bring Ukrainian closer to Russian, a decline of the prestige of the Ukrainian language, the severe promotion of the antipurist movement and the squeezing out of native Ukrainian forms.

Western Ukraine, 1920-1939. Being compartmentalized between different territories, the Ukrainian language could not enjoy its full-fledged status as it was being suppressed by the languages of the ruling nations – Polish under the Polish rule, Romanian under the Romanian rule and Czech under the Czecho-Slovakian rule. Although there were some local successes and achievements, the language situation in the Western Ukraine clearly demonstrated that the absence of a national state can be a tremendous obstacle for the natural and broad development of the language.

1941-1945. This period is characterized by: the adoption of German words into Ukrainian, the restoration of the puristic efforts and a reliance on native resources. A few dictionaries were published during this time.

1946-1953. This period is peculiar for its reversion to the principles of the 1930s, the campaign against purists, the influence of the Russian language, which was actively promulgated, the extensive borrowing from Russian, which at that time was the only source of enriching Ukrainian.

1953-1969. Borrowings primarily from English were used more than in the previous periods. The early 60s were marked by the revival of Ukrainian culture, Khrushchev's "thaw". The role of the *šistdesjatnyky* in defending the language and culture was enormous. There was some discussion about *čystota* 'purity' and *kul'tura* 'cultivation' of the language. But even international words were borrowed through Russian. There was a poor quality in the linguistic discussions of the day. Terminological research resumed later. The policy of Russification (especially in the second half of the 60s) conducted by the state and party officials curtailed the natural development of the Ukrainian language and its linguistic replenishment.

1970-1985. This period was especially unfavorable for the development of the Ukrainian language. The policy of Russification intensified. There was creation of clumsy phraseological/ideological expressions. It was marked by the use of 'ideologically correct Ukrainian language,' widespread use of Soviet "newspeak".

In developing my conclusions on this period, I have to agree with Krouglov (1999: 38) that "in the 1970s and 1980s it became evident that Ukrainian was beginning to lose its communicative capability and was gradually being transformed into an artificial, lifeless language with a limited functional capacity".

1985-1991. With perestroika the process of liberalization and democratization of the Ukrainian language began. This period was marked by search for real meanings of words and a refusal to use 'ideologically correct language.' It was also famous for the creation of new stump compounds, new acronyms and new expressions. There was a strong demand to update the language and to reject the stereotypes and cliches. This period is marked by the search for its natural way of development, using all possible internal and external resources, partial departure from imposed Russian patterns.

The Ukrainian language has preserved its internal resources in spite of all of the unfavorable conditions. By utilizing every opportunity provided by the period of *perebudova* it had made a significant step in its recent development – functioning under the conditions of statehood.

Lexical changes during the period of Ukrainian independence will be considered in the second chapter.

CHAPTER 2

LEXICAL CHANGES IN CONTEMPORARY UKRAINIAN (1991 – 2001)

The principal objective of this chapter is to show recent changes in the lexicon of the Ukrainian language at the end of the twentieth century.

2.1. Introduction

On 24 August 1991 the independence of Ukraine was proclaimed and in December of the same year it was approved in a referendum. This ten-year span (1991-2001) marks a totally new situation with regard to the functionality of Ukrainian language. For the first time, Ukrainian is functioning in the conditions of statehood. Ukrainian had to develop and improve totally new functional domains, in that its sphere of use had previously been very limited or quite neglected (e.g., the language of politics, business, the language of diplomacy and computer science, sports, etc.).

Certain attention is paid in learned circles to the development of the Ukrainian language, to functional problems, its interrelations with Russian, the use of suržyk[1] in Ukraine, etc. (see Berezovenko 1996, 1997, Bex 1997, Dončyk 2001, Farion 2000, Flier 2000, Hornjatkevyč 2000, Humec’ka 1997, Karavanskyi

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[1] *peren., rozm. Elementy dvox abo kil’kox mov, ob”jednani štučno, bez doderžannja norm literaturnoji movy; nečysta mova* ‘transfigurative, colloquial. Elements of two or several languages, artificially united, without observing the norms of the literary language; non-pure language’ (SUM 1970-1980, Vol. 9: 854)
… a mixed Ukrainian-Russian variety (Krouglov 1999: 38).

1998, Kočan 1997, Kolomijec' 1997, Mac'ko 2000, Mazuryk 1999, Moskovich 1996, Okara 2000, Onyshkevych 1997, 1999, Pickurel Taylor 1998, Radevyč-Vynnyc'kyj 2000, Stavyc'ka 2000, Šumylov 2000, Symonenko 1993, Verxovodov 2000).

Mostly these are short articles, unable to present a diverse and broad picture of contemporary lexical changes, although the attention drawn to certain issues and the material considered deserve closer consideration. Farion (2000) in her article with the title "English-speaking attack in the Ukrainian reality" considers the danger of unmotivated and unnecessary borrowings from English, especially in the situation when the Ukrainian language has not departed yet from obvious and strict Russian language influence and control. Farion presents a whole list of English borrowed terms with their Ukrainian equivalents. She does not produce any convincing arguments why the former are preferred over the latter. In my opinion, her approach is oversimplistic.

Moskovich (1996) describes his research project on new Ukrainian political and economic terminology since 1985, the final stage of which will be a monograph. He classifies main types of terms:

(a) Soviet terminology with a changed connotation;

(b) New original Ukrainian terms;

(c) Revived Ukrainian terms;

(d) Terms which were previously used mainly in Halychyna and the diaspora (Moskovich 1996: 261).

Analysis of all these data is not provided.

In some articles English borrowings are presented without any further explanation, classification, etc. Probably, I can agree with Moskovich (1995: 260) that the process is too recent. One decade is enough to register new phenomena and their description, but not enough to see the broader picture.

Considering the process of revitalization of the contemporary Ukrainian language Berezovenko (1997: 121) comes to the conclusion that

> *Analiz sučasnoji movnoji dynamiky v Ukrajini pokazuje, ščo process revitalizaciji zumovljujet'sja dvoma holovnymy čynnykamy:*
> *(2) vidxodom vid totalitaryzmu;*
> *(3) deržavnym statusom ukrajins'koji movy v umovax real'noho suverenitetu ukrajins'koji deržavy.*
> 'an analysis of the contemporary language dynamics in Ukraine shows that the process of revitalization is caused by two main factors:
> (1) the departure from totalitarianism;
> (2) the state status of the Ukrainian language in the conditions of real sovereignty of the Ukrainian state.'

Onyshkevych (1997: 16, 17) does not justify the process of borrowing from the English language when native Ukrainian terminology exists.

As shown by this survey, works on recent lexical changes in Contemporary Ukrainian are too general and quite often too brief. Furthermore, there is no monograph on this topic.

The sociolinguistic situation has not improved significantly even under independence. The everyday use of Ukrainian is seriously endangered in certain (mostly eastern and southern) regions of Ukraine. Ukrainian authors draw close attention to this burning issue (see Ivanyšyn and Radevyč-Vynnyc'kyj 1994, Masenko 1999, 2001, Radevyč-Vynnyc'kyj 1997).

2.2. Lexical Development during Independence (1991-2001)

As mentioned previously, the conditions of statehood are very important for the functioning and development of the Ukrainian language. The ten-year span of the Ukrainian independence marked the creation of a new state administration, a new political system, a diplomatic service and the subsequent use of the language in political, diplomatic and to a lesser extent business discourse. Ukraine has the opportunity to build its ties and relations with other countries, developing its culture and image, though the usage of Russian is still extensive in the Ukrainian establishment (we remember the situation when the President of Ukraine, Leonid Kuchma, had to learn Ukrainian, having been already elected to the post).

Under the Communist regime the political vocabulary, for example, was official, and it did not include any words for criticism. The transition from the clumsy language of the "socialist society" to the vocabulary of the post-totalitarian society deserves close attention.

At present, the Ukrainian language tries to reflect all the complex processes taking place in the political, business, cultural life of the modern Ukrainian society.

Among the works devoted to the recent changes in Ukrainian business lexicon of utmost importance is the dissertation by Ol'ha Pokrovs'ka (1995). The main conclusion of her dissertation is the strong reliance on native sources and resources for the expansion of Ukrainian business terminology. She argues that linguists should strive to search for a native, Ukrainian, not borrowed terminology; and that borrowings can be only considered if they are the last resource for replenishment and are motivated. In her research Pokrovs'ka takes a deep plunge into history in her search for and consideration of a native basis for Ukrainian terminology. She discusses norms and proposals to save the language. Pokrovs'ka considers any term as an inherent element of the contemporary lexicon of the Ukrainian language and its correlation with professional term.

Much attention in her dissertation is paid to the formation of the terminology of market relations, with particular interest in the diachronic aspect of the formation of market terminology, the national basis of replenishment and methods of word building, e.g., the use of abbreviations, the use of suffixes, syntactic methods and lexico-semantic methods of terminological replenishment (as, for example, *dolarovyj holod* 'dollar shortage,' *zolota lyxomanka* 'gold rush').

Ukrainian market terminology is considered as a special terminological system with its specific elements and interconnections. Market terminology is thematically classified according to its main subdivisions and segments. Pokrovs'ka considers market terminology to be the object of special lexicography.

In Pokrovs'ka's dissertation some pragmatic aspects of the selection of international terms are presented. She states that the function of so-called internationalisms in the terminological systems is not sufficiently researched. Language traditions and the principle of regional term creation should be taken into account. Considering [all examples are Pokrovs'ka's – V. P.] English 'order endorsement,' German 'Order indossament,' French 'endossement d'order,' Polish 'indos nakazowy,' Russian *indossament ordernyj*, she prefers Ukrainian form like *indosament nakazovyj*, because, taking into account its motivation (i.e., when the internal form corresponds to the definition) as well as common Slavic basis, she prefers the Polish variant of the term.

If in Ukrainian terminology there was no corresponding term, then an internationalism was borrowed or the term was created on the basis of more highly motivated variant from the foreign language. Considering the international term *dyrekt mejl*, borrowed from the English language, Pokrovs'ka is searching for a better Ukrainian equivalent. Among the variants considered [all examples are Pokrovs'ka's – V. P.] there are English 'direct mail,' German 'werbung der Post,' French 'direct mail,' Polish 'reklama wysylkowa pocztowa,' Russian *direkt mejl*. The meaning of the German term, in Pokrovs'ka's opinion, most precisely renders the features of the definition, so the motivation of the German term prompts a better variant of the Ukrainian term, which could have such a form as *reklamuvannja poštoju* 'advertizing by post.'

Considering the pairs *dominujuče položennja na rynku* versus *panivne položennja na rynku* 'dominant location in the market,' Pokrovs'ka prefers the second one because it is native.

These connections between processes in language and society are tight and many revolutionary changes are reflected in language. Political democratization and liberalization have created an atmosphere in which "everything is permitted". This mind set has shaped attitudes about language use and is reflected in widespread rejection of previous linguistic norms and a radical preference for novelty. Now, language decisions are neither "top-down" [decreed by government apparatus] nor centralized; therefore, there is a kind of uncontrolled "free-for-all". Language becomes more flexible and mobile, reacting to minute switches. I call this process 'from *mobilizacija*[2] to *mobilizacija*[3].'

In contemporary Ukrainian society, language has become more dynamic and personal. The bureaucratic language of the pre-capitalist period is now no longer accepted in everyday use. The difference between the official language of the totalitarian society and the language of the epoch of post-totalitarianism is evident (see Zemskaja 1996: 19), though the influence of the Communist party is still great in Ukrainian society and this party had the biggest number of seats in the parliament (during the period discussed; not anymore). Communist rhetoric is still heard often: *zaxyst prav znedolenyx (robitnyčoho klasu, seljan, intelihenciji)* 'protection of the rights of unfortunate people (working class, peasants, intelligentsia).' An unusual feature of Ukrainian is that, being the language of post-totalitarian society, it has since 1991 been for the first time the official language of a new state. The changes in Ukrainian are enormous. They are taking place on all levels (phonetic, morphological, syntactic, semantic, etc.). This chapter deals with semantic changes in Contemporary Ukrainian.

2.2.1. Methodology

For this chapter I analyzed examples from the Ukrainian periodical press (1991-2001): *Večirnij Kyjiv* (VK) 'Evening Kyiv'1999, 2000, 2001, *Den'* 'Day' 2000,

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[2] massive recruitment of people to serve in the army in case of state emergency (like war, armed conflict, coup d'etat). The term was excessively used during the communist regime.

[3] massive use of mobile phones by people. This is the recent meaning of the term, created in the mid 1990s.

2001, *Dzerkalo tyžnja* (DT) 'Mirror of the Week' 2000, 2001, *Post-postup* (PP) 'Post-Progress' 1994, *Ukrajins'kyj holos* (UH) 'Ukrainian Voice' 1998, *Ukrajins'kyj kur"jer* (UK) 'Ukrainian Courier' 1998, *Ukrajins'kyj futbol* (UF) 'Ukrainian Soccer' 2001, *Literaturna Ukrajina* (LU) 'Literary Ukraine' 2000, *Molod' Ukrajiny* (MU) 'Youth of Ukraine' 1994, *Nova Ternopil's'ka hazeta* (NTH) 'New Ternopil Newspaper' 2000, Ukrainian magazines: *Polityka i kul'tura* (PiK) 'Politics & Culture' 2000, 2001, *Krytyka* 'Critique' 2001, *Slovo i čas* (SiČ) 'Word & Time' 1999, *Vsesvit* 'Universe' 1999, *Sučasnist'* 'Contemporaneity' 2000 and books: Karpenko 1997, Rjabčuk 2000. When necessary, Ukrainian examples are contrasted with Russian, extracted from the Russian newspapers: *Komsomol'skaja pravda* (KP) 'Komsomol Truth' 2000, *Nezavisimaja gazeta* (NG) 'Independent Newspaper' 2000, *Forum* 'Forum' 2001. The language of the mass media was chosen for analysis because it reveals processes taking place in language functioning[4]. Although the role of radio and TV in the formation of the mentality and the expressive devices of language is enormous, due to the constraints of this dissertation I have not analyzed this important medium of language functioning but restricted myself to printed sources.

2.2.2. Theoretical Framework and Objective of the Research

"The changes are often seen as corruption, decay, degeneration, deterioration, as due to laziness or slovenliness, as a threat to education, morality and even to national security" - a point that is emphasized by Campbell (1999: 3). In my research I will concentrate on considering changes[5] as a means for filling in referential gaps rather than criticizing these changes.

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[4] Kostomarov (1999), Ferm (1994) use the periodical press as the primary source of their research, while Zemskaja (1996), Šapošnikov (1998), Ryazanova-Clarke and Wade (1999), Comrie, Stone and Polinsky (1996) rely heavily on it.

The development of the Ukrainian language in the first half of the century was described in Shevelov (1989). There are articles scattered here and there (in some Ukrainian and Western sources[6]) that show the evolutionary tendencies since 1941 but do not provide us with the whole picture. Hopefully this work will be continued by Ukrainian linguists in the future.

Other Slavic languages have been undergoing crucial lexical changes in the 1990s as well. An extensive literature exists on this topic. In comparison with Ukrainian, Russian has been thoroughly researched. Monographs by Kostomarov (1999), Duličenko (1994), Šapošnikov (1998), Ferm (1994), the collective monograph edited by Zemskaya (1996), the recent book by Ryazanova-Clarke and Wade (1999) provide detailed analyses of the Russian language at the end of the century with respect to recent changes in the lexicon, ways of vocabulary replenishment, and colloquial patterns.

Recent changes in the lexicon of Polish, Czech and Bulgarian are also very well documented (see, for example, Rangelova 1999, Neščimenko 1999, Perniska 1999, Zemskaja, Ermakova and Rudnik-Karwatowa 1999, Savický 1999, Roszko1999).

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[5] "All languages change through time" – remark Thomason and Kaufman (1991: 9). "…we cannot understand how languages change unless we have an accurate view of what language systems are like" – considers Hudson (1996: 145-146).

[6] previously mentioned (pp. 60-61).

In this chapter, using abundant examples from Ukrainian (and whenever useful supplying Russian equivalents for the purpose of illustrative comparison), I will try:

1. To portray the Ukrainian language, primarily its lexicon and changes in it, at the end of the twentieth century, marking the ten-year period of Ukrainian independence; the aim being to prove that
2. (a) The process of democratization[7] is unfolding with an unprecedented speed in Ukrainian (contrary to Krouglov's statement (1999: 40): "The slow acceptance of linguistic democratization in Ukrainian ...").

   (b) The process of democratization in Ukrainian prevails over puristic or archaizing tendencies (often puristic processes do not conflict with democratization; when they do so, the process of democratization prevails over them). This is contrary to the same author's statement: "A purist or archaising tendency, therefore, prevails over democratisation in Ukrainian, while democratisation has been taken the upper hand over archaising tendencies in Russian" (Krouglov 1999: 40).

Koštomarov (1999: 5) uses the other term *liberalizacija* 'liberalization' in regards to these stormy processes that are taking place in the language. *Naibolee jarko demokratizirujutsja takie sfery literaturnogo obščenija, kak massovaja kommunikacija, vključaja sjuda pis'mennyj jazyk periodiki* 'Such spheres of the literary communication, as mass media communication, including here the written language of the press (periodicals), are undergoing the most vividly the process of democratization' (Kostomarov 1999: 5).

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[7] By democratization I mean transition from the authoritarian 'prescribed' linguistic norm of totalitarian society to a diversity of linguistic means and the devices of post-totalitarian society, expressed in a variety of competing lexical, stylistic and other forms. In other words, it is a loosening of one literary standard, a rejection of strict language normativism. The term *demokratizacija* 'democratization,' regarding linguistic processes, was first introduced by V.K.Žuravlev 1982, 1989 (according to Kostomarov 1999: 5).

By *liberalizacija* he means that *V celom literaturno-jazykovaja norma stanovitsja menee opredelennoj i objazatel'noj; literaturnyj standart stanovitsja menee standartnym* 'In general, the literary-language norm becomes less definite and obligatory; the literary standard becomes less standard' (Kostomarov 1999: 5). Ryazanova-Clarke and Wade (1999: viii) also use this term, considering the role of the media in the 'liberalization' of the language.

The lexical processes taking place in Contemporary Ukrainian deserve close attention, because as Mac'ko (2000: 15) observes:

> *Zahal'novidomo, ščo leksyčna systema movy dynamična, ruxlyva, čutlyviša, niž inši systemy, do suspil'no-polityčnoho žyttja nosijiv movy i zmin u nij. Jak stverdžujut' včeni, protjahom desjatyriččja slovnykovyj sklad movy zminjujet'sja v seredn'omu na 25 vidsotkiv.*
> 'It is generally known that the lexical system of the language is dynamic, mobile and more sensitive than the other systems to the sociopolitical life of native speakers and changes in it. As scientists state, during a decade the vocabulary of a language changes on average by 25 percent.'

I do not agree with the percentage assigned (the statement is higher than reality), but agree that the lexical system is most succeptible to changes.

I will quote as examples three sentences typical of this decade's newspapers which demonstrate how the language has changed and the new words and expressions that have appeared. For instance, in the following there are examples of some new lexical entries (underlined):

> *Na dumku Volodymyra Černjaka, s'ohodni v Ukrajini jakos' nepomitno syntezuvalysja oliharxičnyj perevorot, tinizacija ekonomiky,*

> *kryminalizacija ekonomičnoho i polityčnoho žyttja ta menedžments'kyj kolaps* (Čas, 26.07.96).
> 'In Volodymyr Černjak's opinion, in Ukraine today, the oligarchical coup d'etat, a shadowing of the economy, the criminalization of economic and political life and the managerial collapse all were somehow unnoticeably synthesized.'

The societal change is reflected in the language, more precisely, its lexicon:

> *Sucil'ni dyskoteky abo ofisy zamist' Palaciv pioneriv z jix studijamy i hurtkamy. Kudy podilysja stanciji Junyx texnikiv, modelistiv, naturalistiv? Nemaje i dosaafivs'koji texničnoji bazy* (Den,' 9.08. 2000).
> 'Total discoteques and offices instead of Palaces of pioneers with their studios and clubs. Where did the stations of Junior technologists, modellers and naturalists disappear to? There is no DOSAAF [Voluntary Assistance Association for the Army, Air Force and Navy] technical basis.'

The new life brought new words and expressions:

> *Projdit'sja vulycjamy, pohljan'te na vyvisky, na neonovu reklamu, na riznomanitni rozmal'ovani ščyty: skriz' – trasty, restoranty, salomandry, panasoniky, soni, ajbiemy i t. p., i t. p. I vse – anhlijs'koju abo rosijs'koju* (Karpenko1997: 27).
> 'Walk in the streets, look at signboards, at the neon advertizing, at various painted boards: everywhere - trusts, restaurants, Salamanders, Panasonics, Sony stores, IBMs and so on, and so forth. And everything is in English or Russian.'

The Ukrainian language is in a constant state of flux, with a new and revived vocabulary evolving day by day.

2.2.3. Qualitative Changes

In my analysis of the changes taking place in the Contemporary Ukrainian lexicon I will utilize the classification developed by Larissa Ryazanova-Clarke and Terence Wade (1999) with reference to changes in the Russian lexicon during the post-Soviet period (their Chapter 2, pp. 75-120), applying this to the Ukrainian data which were collected from the sources mentioned in the Methodology. Ryazanova-Clarke & Wade's classification allowed me to apply a systematic approach towards research into lexical changes in Contemporary Ukrainian. Ryazanova-Clarke and Wade pay special attention to the description of the perestroika period and lexical changes of this period as characteristic of a new epoch in the development of the Russian vocabulary, of vivid liberalization of the language. In my research I also pay special attention to the *perebudova* 'perestroika' period as a clear mark of deep transformation processes in the Ukrainian lexicon. Changes during the *perebudova* period laid down the foundation for further lexical changes during the independence period (1991-2001). Ryazanova-Clarke and Wade describe the lexical development of the Russian language in the Soviet period. My research not only shows historical development of the Ukrainian language during the Soviet period, but goes further back into the nineteenth century, a century that was crucial for laying down the firm foundation of the Ukrainian language and its lexicon. Ryazanova-Clarke and Wade rely heavily on publications for their source data; corpus data extracted from contemporary Ukrainian newspapers and magazines are considered in chapter 2 of my dissertation. Further, Ryazanova-Clarke and Wade tried to consider lexical changes of a certain period under the impact of certain social and political changes. In my research certain social and political background is also provided.

Components of their classification are underlined in sections 2.2.3.1.-2.2.3.6. below.

Among the tendencies noted by Ryazanova-Clarke & Wade (1999) the following are confirmed by Ukrainian material:

2.2.3.1. Re-activation of Lexical Items which Were Considered Obsolete

- Rehabilitation of religious termininology:

  Religious terminology was revived. Formerly forbidden and separated, religion is now sometimes even supported by the state. For more detail about Ukrainian religious terminology see Pavlova (2001) and Belej (1999).

- The restoration of pre-Soviet lexis in the cultural sphere:

  education: *himnazija* 'high school,' *licej* 'secondary school,' names of degrees: *bakalavr* 'bachelor,' *mahistr* (sometimes *magistr*) 'master.'

- Re-activation of pre-Soviet lexis relating to the economy:

  akcija 'share' and *akcioner* 'shareholder'
  aukcion 'auction'
  bankrutstvo 'bankruptcy'
  birža 'stock-exchange'
  birža praci 'job centre'
  makler 'broker'
  orenda 'lease' and *orendator* 'lessee'
  paj 'share'
  pidpryjemec' 'entrepreneur'
  pryvatna vlasnist' 'private property'
  rynok 'market'
  firma 'firm.'

2.2.3.2. Re-orientation of Native Lexis

Words that formerly had been used for describing the "evils" of capitalist society are now used for local phenomena:

bezrobittja 'unemployment'
bezrobitnij 'unemployed'
konkurencija 'competition'
strajk 'strike,'

derivatives:

strajkovyj 'strike' (adjective)
strajkom 'strike committee'
strajkuvaty 'to strike.'

2.2.3.3. Name Changes

- Changes in administrative and institutional names

One very interesting phenomenon, namely changes in administrative and institutional names, will not be covered in the dissertation because of space constraints; only a few comments will be made. Among these words are those "of foreign origin which in the Soviet period related only to foreign countries" (Ryazanova-Clarke & Wade 1999: 85), such as *mer* 'mayor'[8]. More often than not there is connotation (especially in newspapers) with the Ukrainian word *merza* 'nastiness, abomination.' This list of borrowed words also includes:

vice-prem'jer-ministr 'deputy prime-minister'
merija 'town council'
municypalitet 'municipality'
municypal'nyj 'municipal'
parlament 'parliament'
prezydent 'president'
prem'jer-ministr 'prime-minister'
spiker 'speaker.'

The Parliament of Ukraine is called either *parlament* 'parliament' or *Verxovna Rada* 'Supreme Council.' The acronym *VR* (from *Verxovna Rada*), which dates back to Soviet times, is also quite popular. A new word *departament* 'department' appeared instead of *viddil* 'sector,' i. e. *departament osvity* instead of *viddil osvity* 'department of education.' One identifiable paradox is the word *hubernator* 'governor' for the Head of Regional State Administration, though Ukraine is divided into *oblasti*, not *huberniji* (according to both the former Soviet and the current territorial division). Mostly heads of eastern regions are called

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[8] derivatives *merstvo* 'position of mayor,' *mers'ki ambiciji* 'mayor's ambitions,' etc.

hubernatory (*Hubernator Zaporiz'koji oblasti* 'Governor of Zaporižžja Region,' *Donec'kyj hubernator* 'Governor of Donec'k Region, etc.). Is this an imitation of Russian or Russian influence? It is difficult to provide a definite answer.

2.2.3.4. Re-connotation

"During perestroika, the process of the de-ideologization of society began, and included the de-ideologization of vocabulary" – conclude Ryazanova-Clarke & Wade (1999: 91).

- Words lose their ideological components and negative connotation:

biznes 'business'
biznesmen 'businessman'
vil'ne pidpryjemnyctvo 'free enterprise'
vlasnyk 'owner'
kapitalizm 'capitalism'
komersant 'business man'
komercijnyj 'commercial'

konkurencija 'competition'
mil'joner 'millionaire'
opozycija 'opposition'
pryvatna vlasnist' 'private ownership'
rynkova ekonomika 'market economy'
frakcija 'faction.'

- Words lose their ideological components and change their connotation from positive to negative:

avanhard 'vanguard'
bil'šovyk 'Bolshevik'
idejnyj 'ideologically motivated'
komunistyčna vaxta 'communist watch'
komunistyčnyj 'communist'

leninec' 'Leninist'
nomenklatura[9] 'nomenclature'
peredovyk 'leading worker'
radjans'kyj 'Soviet'.

Many former clichés are used to create an ironic and humorous effect. These word combinations have special meanings because of particular contexts rather than being generally re-lexicalized. Among interesting examples there are the following:

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[9] The word *nomenklatura* developed its derivatives *nomenklaturnyj* (of *nomenklatura*, adj.) and *nomenklaturnyk* 'member of *nomenklatura*.' There is a strong negative connotation with the word combination adjective + *nomenklatura*, as well as *nomenklaturnyj* + noun.

> *Bronja micna i "Mersy" jixni sprytni.* (*VK*, 10.08.2000).
> 'The armor is strong and their Mercedes are agile' (the shortened jargon form *Mers* is used); this is an allusion to the Russian cliché *Bronja krepka i tanki naši bystry* 'The armor is strong and our tanks are agile.'
>
> *Zorja kapitalizmu nad poljamy kolhospu "Zorja komunizmu".*
> 'The star of capitalism over the fields of the collective farm "Star of Communism'[10].
>
> *Pryvyd impičmentu brodyt' Amerykoju.*
> 'The spectre of impeachment is wandering through America'; this is an allusion to the beginning of Karl Marx's "Manifesto" *Pryvyd brodyt' Jevropoju. Pryvyd komunizmu* 'A spectre is haunting Europe, the spectre of communism.'
>
> *Čomu partijnyj lokomotyv v Ukrajini dosi stojit' na zapasnyx kolijax.*
> 'Why the party locomotive in Ukraine is still staying on a side track'; an allusion to the song *...stoit na zapasnom puti* '... is on a side track.'
>
> "*Svitle majbutnje*"[11] – *zovsim porjad* (title of an article in *VK*, 17.08.2000).
> '"A bright future" is close by.'
>
> *Upered do peremohy "korupcionizmu"* (title of an article in *Den,'* 23.09.2000).
> 'Forward to the victory of "corruptionism"; an allusion to the famous phrase *Upered do peremohy komunizmu* 'Forward to the victory of communism.'

Euphemistic phrases now are causing ironic effect:

> *majak vyrobnyctva* 'a star worker of production'
> *pravoflanhovi p"jatyričky* 'right flank men of the five year plan'
> *trybun komunizmu* 'tribune of communism'.

Nowadays words *naš hehemon* 'our leader' are referring to unemployed workers.

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[10] the word combination *zorja komunizmu* was widely used especially with the names of the collective farms .

[11] The combination *svitle majbutnje* (regarding communism) was extensively used.

- Words lose their ideological components and change their connotation from negative to positive:

  bahatopartijnist' 'multy-party principle'
  dysydents'kyj rux 'dissident movement'
  dysydent 'dissident'
  pljuralizm 'pluralism.'

- Words lose their ideological components and positive connotations:

  hidnist' 'dignity' (i. e. *robitnyča hidnist'* 'dignity of working people')
  moral'nyj 'moral'
  partija 'party' (this word regained universally accepted meaning)
  spravedlyvist' 'justice'
  čest' 'honor'.[12]

2.2.3.5. Re-activation, Reorientation and Reinterpretation of Words of Foreign Origin Borrowed before 1985

Contemporary Ukrainian discourse is characterized also by the abundant presence of foreign words, which is a characteristic feature of our time. Very often many of these words are not new and have their Ukrainian equivalents.

- Reorientation to a Ukrainian referent. There was an active reorientation to the applicable Ukrainian referent of terminology previously applied only to the West:

  bryfinh 'briefing'
  isteblišment 'establishment'
  lobbi (lobi) 'lobby'[13];

  in the economy:

  bankrutstvo 'bankruptcy'
  biznes 'business'
  biznesmen 'businessman'
  infljacija 'inflation'
  pryvatyzacija 'privatization';

---

[12] formerly used in "set ideological contexts" *robitnyca čest'* 'honor of working people,' *čest' radjans'koho robitnyka* 'honor of Soviet worker,' *čest' partijcja* 'honor of party member.

[13] *parlaments'ke lobi* 'parliamentary lobby,' derivatives *lobisty* 'lobbists,' *lobijuvannja* 'lobbyism,' *lobijuvaty* 'to lobby,' etc.

in the social sphere:

korumpovanist,' korupcija 'corruption'
mafija 'mafia'[14]
narkomanija 'drug use'[15]
ničližnyj budynok dlja bezdomnyx (*ničližka*) 'shelter for the homeless'
pornohrafija 'pornography'
prostytucija 'prostitution.'

The Ukrainian word *bryfinh* 'briefing' certainly could be replaced by *pres-konferencija* 'press-conference,' but it found its own niche in the contemporary political lexicon. According to Ryazanova-Clarke & Wade (1999: 100) "the word *brifing* (from English briefing) appeared in Russian in the 1970s but remained peripheral until the end of the 1980s, as a lexeme used to denote a foreign phenomenon". According to my research findings, it did not appear in Ukrainian in the 70s, emerging only at the end of the 80s. Quite often, words are reversing their positive and negative connotations (typical examples could be *biznes* 'business' and *biznesmen* 'businessman,' negative in the 80s, positive at the beginning of 90s and positive/negative at present moment). The same can be observed with the word *pryvatyzacija* 'privatization,' which first had a positive meaning (i.e., the Western type), and later a negative one, i.e., an unjust and unfair process, where only a few gained from this process. Later its paranomasiac parallel term *pryxvatyzacija* 'seizure' appeared:

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[14] this was used originally only with the reference to the West: *italijs'ka mafija* 'Italian mafia,' *sicilijs'ka mafija* 'Sicilian mafia,' and now expended to *vitčyznjana mafija* 'native mafia,' *ukrajins'ka* mafija 'Ukrainian mafia,' *čečens'ka mafija* 'Chechen mafia,' *azerbajdžans'ka mafija* 'Azerbaidjan mafia,' *rosijs'ka mafija* 'Russian mafia,' derivatives *mafiozi* 'mafioso,' '*mafioznyj* 'of mafia' (*mafiozni klany* 'clans,' *struktury* 'structures,' *uhrupovannja* 'group, grouping')

[15] derivatives: *narkokur"jer* 'drug carrier,' *narkobiznes* 'drug business,' *narkodiler* 'drug dealer,' *narkomafija* 'drug mafia,' *narkobaron* 'drug king,' *narkodilok* 'drug businessman,' *narkozaležni* 'dependant on drugs,' etc. (formerly only *narkoman* 'drug user,' *narkomanija* 'drug use' were used regarding the Western world social problems)

> *Tomu stalosja, ščo same slovo “pryvatyzacija” u našoho naselennja asocijujet’sja zi slovom “pryxvatyzacija”.*
> ‘And that is why it happened that the word “privatization” has the association among our people with the word “seizure”.’

Or the other example:

> *Oliharxy “pryxvatyzujut’” pidpryjemstva.*
> ‘Oligarchs are “seizing” enterprises.’

Derivatives like *pryvatyzator* ‘privatiser’ and its pun equivalent *pryxvatyzator* ‘seizer’ appeared.

The word *likvidator* ‘liquidator’ underwent an interesting transformation. First it was preferred in a context like *likvidator Čornobyl’s’koji avariji* ‘liquidator of the Chornobyl accident,’ but currently it is more often used as a synonym for *vbyvcja, kiler* ‘killer, contracted killer.’ The same transformation is with the words *likvidacija* ‘liquidation,’ *likviduvaty* ‘to liquidate’ (used in the meaning of ‘to kill’ in Soviet times mostly in the 30s, except that then it was done by state organs), *likvidnyj* ‘liquid,’ etc. Words like *hastarbajtery* (migrant workers), *ostarbajtery* (people who unwillingly worked in Germany during the war) become quite popular.

- The activation of bookish words of foreign origin

The frequency of use of these peripheral lexical units can be observed in the following:

al’ternatyva ‘alternative’
al’ternatyvnyj ‘alternative’ (adj.)

votum ‘vote’
konsensus ‘consensus’
konfrontacija ‘confrontation’

kryminohennyj ‘generating crime’
lehitymnyj ‘legitimate’ (and derivative *lehitymnist’* ‘legitimacy’)
rehion ‘region’
rehional’nyj ‘regional.’

A paradox can be observed when for the popular term 'multiculturalism' some Ukrainian sources use ***mul'tykul'turalism*** (see, for example, *SiČ* 1999, 10: 53), when in Canadian Ukrainian the word ***bahatokul'turnist'*** is already accepted.

2.2.3.6. Changes in Non-standard Lexis

Far-reaching changes have already been achieved in the non-standard lexis. Though these words do not form a priority in the research of this dissertation, I have to mention these changes in order to show the democratization processes at work in the Ukrainian vocabulary. Informal words, which formerly were outside serious discourse, are now seen in newspapers, radio and television. But there is an essential difference between Russian and Ukrainian in this respect. In Contemporary Russian "these items are moving from the periphery into the central zone of the vocabulary and into widespread use, as a result of a new wave of linguistic liberalisation which, in its turn, reflects democratic developments in society" – remark Ryazanova-Clarke & Wade (1999: 113). In the analyzed data, out of three components (informal words, vulgar words and slang) informal words and slang are represented in Contemporary Ukrainian discourse (newspapers, TV, radio) while vulgar words are not. A difference is clearly evident in Russian where vulgar words have actually flooded serious publications like *Ogonek*, *Komsomol'skaja pravda* (*KP*), etc. I will quote here only two of them:

> *Na flote est' grubaja poslovica: esli srabotala AZ (avarijnaja zaščita), to my v žope!*
> 'There is a vulgar saying in the fleet: "If an emergency alarm is activated, we are in deep shit"!

> *Svoloči, uže davno by vytaščili* (*KP*, 16.08.2000).
> 'The scum, they could have gotten them out a long time before this.'

I do not think that the use of vulgar words in contemporary Russian discourse can be considered a serious achievement of democratization and liberalization, or, on the contrary, that absence of this usage in the Ukrainian press is evidence of a lack of democratization and liberation. My examples prove that Ukrainian is developing with regard for semantic reconnotation of specific words. *Jazykovoj vkus* (language taste) should not be neglected. An abundant use of informal words is present in Ukrainian as well as in Russian.

I now compare slang usage in Contemporary Russian and Ukrainian discourses. Russian:

> *Po p'jani "zamočil" sobstvennuju babušku* (*KP*, 9.08.2000).
> 'While drunk [he] "rubbed out" his own grandmother.'
>
> *Čečency do six por zdes' v uvažuxe – podtverždajet oxrannik Igor'* (*KP*, 10.08. 2000).
> 'Chechens still "get respect" here – confirms the guard Igor'.'
>
> *Poka šli, uspeli požalovat'sja na nelegkuju žizn,' na to, čto nado dat' "na lapu" oxrane, milicii otstegnut'* (KP, 10.08.2000).
> 'While walking they managed to complain about their difficult life, that you have to grease the palms of the guards and fork over some green to the police.'

Ukrainian:

> *Hryby prodovžujut' "kosyty" ljudej* (VK, 19.08. 2000).
> 'Mushrooms continue "to mow" people down.'
> (*Kosyty* has long been used in conjuction with *smert'* 'death' and *čuma* 'plague,' and in contemporary Ukrainian it expanded its semantic combinability)
>
> *V Ukrajini xotily "zamočyty" prezydenta* (*VK*, 17.08.2000, title of the article).
> "In Ukraine they wanted to "rub out" the President.'

> *Močyty vsix u sortyri* (*VK*, 17.08.2000, also title of the article).
> ‘To “rub out” all people in the can.’
> (Shlyakhov and Adler (1995: 120) provide the following meaning of the Russian *močit’/zamočit,’* crim. & youth. 1. To kill (lit., to wet) 2. To hit, beat.

In Russian *močit’ v sortire* ‘To beat (kill) in the washroom’ were first used in Russian public political discourse by Russian President Vladimir Putin who was trying to describe his policy towards Chechens.

Pyrkalo (1998) was a valuable edition on slang (for more detail see, Polkovsky 2000 a). Modern Ukrainian writers use slang abundantly (e.g., Jurij Andruxovyč, Oksana Zabužko, Andrij Kokotjuxa and others). They also use vulgar vocabulary, but in the newspapers analyzed for this study vulgar words were not found. A change of the vocabulary in this direction is evident in the following example:

> “*Paxany”*, “*avtorytety*”, “*strilky”*, “*rozbyrannja*” *ta inša blatna terminolohija vse micniše vxodyt’ u pobut z podači takyx avtoriv’* (*Den,’* 15.09.2000).
> ‘“Mob-bosses”, “Godfathers”, “meetings”, “sorting outs” and other thieves’ (criminal) terminology is more powerfully entering everyday life with the help of such authors.’

The criminalization of business activity is reflected in the language:

> *Investor vže “u zakoni”* (*Den,’* 4.07.2001).
> ‘The investor is “observing the code of the underworld”.’[16]

Sometimes this new terminology is explained in brackets, because figuring out its meaning is not easy even from a definite context:

> *Kabančyk dlja Juliji Volodymyrivny* (*VK*, 22.02.2001).
> ‘Piggy for Julija Volodymyrivna.’

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[16] Compare with Russian *Festival’ v zakone* ‘Festival is “in accord with the code of crime”’ (*NG*, 1.08.2000). It is derived from Russian *vor v zakone* ‘thief “in accord with the code of crime”.’

Later, an explanation is found out in the text:

> *"...svoho "kabančyka" (tak na tjuremnomu žarhoni imenujut' te, ščo my nazyvajemo produktovoju peredačeju) ukomplektuvav z dijetyčnyx produktiv.*
> ... [I] made up my "piggy" (this is in prison jargon what we call a food packet) from the dietary products.'

The extensive use of youth slang and jargon can be traced in newspapers:

> *Ja buv krutym, ščo nazyvajet'sja – rozpovidaje Ruslan. Ja dozvoljav sobi vse* (*Den,'* 16.06. 2001).
> "I was cool, as they say" – says Ruslan. "I allowed myself anything that I wanted."

The new meaning of the word *krutyj* 'cool, having financial "success"' appears, now used with definite degrees of comparison: *krutišyj* 'cooler, tougher' and even *najkrutišyj* 'the coolest, the toughest.'

2.2.4. Quantitative Changes

2.2.4.1. Derivation

Many new words are created by derivation. In this subsection I will discuss the suffixes *-izacija* (active, not new), *-izm* (active, not new), *-uxa* (not active, not new), *-ynh/inh* (active, rather new), *-abel'nyj* (currently not active, but with good possibilities to become active in future, not new), *-ec'* (active, not new), and prefixes *anty-* (extremely active, not new), *bez-* (not active, not new), *pro-* (active, not new), *post-* (active, not new), *hiper-* (not active, not new), *ul'tra-* (not active, not new), *neo-* (not active, not new), *psevdo-* (not active, not new), *super-* (active, not new), *meha-* (not active, new), *kvazi-* (not active, rather new), *eks-* (active, not new). My timeline for considering a suffix or a prefix 'new' is approximately the same ten-year span (1991 - 2001). Though the majority of these affixes are not new, they have expanded their sphere of usage and often create new words that are not yet registered in popular Ukrainian dictionaries.

- Suffixes

-izacija

Among the most widely used is the suffix *–izacija* (for names denoting processes):

barteryzacija 'barterization'
bomžyzacija mist 'homelessnessization of cities'
harmonizacija nacional'nyx zakonodavstv 'harmonization of the national legislation' (this word has been used for a long time in music)
hlobalizacija 'globalization'
gettojizacija 'ghettoization'
gloryfikacija 'glorification'
ekonomizacija zovnišn'oekonomičnyx vidnosyn 'economization of foreign economic activity'
komercializacija 'commercialization'
"*kontrabandyzacija*"[17] *ukrajins'koho rynku* '"contrabandization" of the Ukrainian market'
kryminalizacija ta "tinizacija" ekonomiky 'criminalization and "shadowing" of economy'
ljumpenizacija hromadjan[18] 'impoverishment of citizens'
marginalizacija 'marginalization'
minimizacija vplyvu nehatyvnyx čynnykiv 'minimization of influence of negative factors'
minimalizacija infljaciji 'minimalization of inflation'
monetaryzacija VVP (*valovoho vnutrišn'oho produktu)* 'monetarization of GDP'
restrukturyzacija borhiv 'debt restructuring'
"*synxronizacija" roboty z AP* (*Administracijeju Prezydenta)* '"synchronization" of work with the Presidential Administration'
synxronizacija systemy polityčnoji reformy 'synchronization of the system of political reform'
strukturyzacija suspil'stva 'structuring of society'

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[17] Quotation marks here and in all following data examples represent exact reproductions of the original. In my opinion, they are used because the words are new and the authors are not sure whether people know them. They are like a testing ground for acceptance by a general public.

[18] the Russian word *ljumpen*, a, m. (coll.) one of the dregs of society (e.g. criminal, tramp, beggar, prostitute, down-and-out, outcast) (Marder 1995: 210 <German Lump "ragamuffin, scamp, scoundrel".

and even such an enigmatic expression as *rosavizacija krajiny* 'rosavization of the country'[19].

-izm

The suffix *–izm* '-ism' for denoting political movements, groups, affiliations, etc. is quite actively used: *kučmizm* 'Kuchmism,' *kravčukizm* 'Kravchukism,' etc.[20]

The suffixes *–uxa* and *–ec'* are the only native suffixes; all others are of foreign origin, some of them may have even come into Ukrainian in the nineteenth century.

-uxa

Suffixed forms of the type *čornuxa* 'negative information,' *pornuxa* 'pornography,' *hrupovuxa* 'group sex,' etc. are formed, and some observers consider them examples of strong Russian influence. In 1941 Oleksa Synjavs'kyj (1941: 128) wrote that *–uxa, -juxa* is very widespread suffix in various roots (*dosyt' pošyrenyj narostok pry riznyx pnjax*).

-ec'

The suffix *-ec'* is used to create nouns denoting members of certain organizations

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[19] from *rosavizacija – tin'ova pryvatyzacija "Rosavy"* 'shadowy (unfair) privatization of the firm "Rosava".

[20] *ideolohija kučmizmu", artykul'ovana joho aparatom, vyjavylasja šče efemernišym javyščem, niž "ideolohija kravčukizmu", artykul'ovana nacional-demokratyčnoju, perevažno humanitarnoju inteligencijeju.* '…the "ideology of Kuchmism", articulated by his staff, appeared to be an even more ephemeral phenomenon than "the ideology of Kravchukism", articulated by national democratic, mostly humanitarian intelligentsia' (Rjabčuk 2000: 171-172).

(derived from the names of organizations or surnames, like previously used *komsomolec'* 'Komsomol member,' *leninec'* 'follower of Lenin's ideas'):

> *Kolyšnij ruxivec' (včorašnij "kostenkivec'", pozavčorašnij "čornovolivec'"), a nyni lider PPVV Jaroslav Fedoryn.*
> 'The former member of Rukh (yesterday's member of Kostenko's party, the day-before-yesterday's member of Čornovil's party), and now the leader of PPVV Jaroslav Fedoryn.'

-ynh/inh

Among the international affixes is the suffix *-ynh/inh*: *pejdžynh* (*systema indyvidual'noho vyklyku*) 'paging,' *stajlinh začisok* 'styling,' *fiksynh kursu* 'fixing,' etc. Sometimes this suffix is also rendered as *-yng/ing*. We can see in more detail the use of the Ukrainian suffix (equivalent to English -ing) in business terminology in my review of some English-Ukrainian business dictionaries and glossaries (Polkovsky 2000 b: 202).

-abel'nyj

Among the reactivized affixes is the adjectival suffix *-abel'nyj* (from English -able). One of the most popular words with this suffix is the adjective *čytabel'nyj* 'readable,' which was used already in the 1960s, but expanded its semantic combinability recently:

> *najčytabel'nišyj pys'mennyk* 'the most readable writer'
> *najčytabel'niši romany* 'the most readable novels'
> *nečytabel'na proza* 'non-readable prose'
> *čytabel'na literatura* 'readable literature'
> *čytabel'nyj tvir* 'readable work.'

The noun *čytabel'nist'* 'readability' was also created. All these examples are from a dialogue between two Ukrainian writers Roman Kuxaruk and Anatolij Dimarov in an article called "*Pro čytabel'nist' literatury i ne til'ky (Polemični* *rozmovy)"* 'About the readability of literature and not only about it (A polemic conversation)' (*LU*, 20.01.2000: 3). Suffice it to mention that *Literaturna Ukrajina* is not partial to foreign borrowings. An analogous form is *dysertabel'nyj* 'dissertationable' (*Vaša tema dysertabel'na?* Is the topic of your dissertation modern and up-to-date? Are you able to defend a dissertation with this topic?). Corresponding nouns *dysertabel'nist'/nedysertabel'nist'* 'dissertation-ability/undissertationability' are created.

The bound morpheme - *hejt* or - *gejt* 'gate' recently is becoming more and more popular. Starting with traditional *Voterhejt/Votergejt*[21] 'Watergate,' the morpheme in Ukrainian first was actively applied to American scandals[22] and later to Ukrainian ones (*ukrajins'kyj "Votergejt"* 'Ukrainian "Watergate"'):

> *Kučmagejt* 'Kuchmagate' *(Čy možna za takyx obstavyn zbahnuty "Kučmagejt", jak nazyvajut' na Zaxodi zvynuvačennja proty prezydenta Kučmy u pryčetnosti do znyknennja nezaležnoho žurnalista Heorhija Honhadze?* (*Krytyka* 2001, 1-2: 4).
> 'Under such circumstances, is it possible, to understand "Kuchmagate", as in the West accusations against President Kuchma in his involvement in the disappearance of independent journalist Heorhiy Gongadze are called?,'
>
> derivative *kyjivgejtivs'kyj* 'Kyivgate' (adj.).[23]

Other examples of this morpheme are also found: *"Žučok-hejt" u Bolhariji* '"Bug gate" in Bulgaria' (when bug devices were found in the apartment of the public prosecutor of Bulgaria), "*internethejt*" '"Internetgate"'[24].

- Prefixes (except for *bez-*, all prefixes are of foreign origin)

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[21] both variants are found in the newspapers

[22] see, title of the article *Voterhejt, Monikahejt, ... Hor-hejt?* 'Watergate, Monicagate, ... Goregate?' (*Den,'* 27. 06. 2000)

[23] "*kyjivgejtivs'ki" plivky* '"Kyivgate" tapes'

[24] when documents that possibly contained state secrets appeared in the Internet edition of "*Ukrajina kryminal'na*" 'Criminal Ukraine'

This period is characterized by the activization of prefixes that denote negation, rejection.

anty-

The prefix *anty-* ‘anti-’ is among the most active ones:

antypolityčna vystava ‘antipolitical performance’
antyprosvitnyc’ka liberal’na demokratija ‘anti-enlightenment liberal democracy’
antysuspil’ni j antykonstruktyvni reči ‘antisocietal and anticonstructive things’
antyprezydents’ka koalicija ‘antipresidential coalition’
antykryzovi doslidžennja ‘anticrisis research’
antystalinizm ‘antistalinism’
antykunicyns’ka akcija ‘action against Kunicyn’[25]
antykorupcijna prohrama ‘anticorruptional program’
antykorupcijnyj rux ‘anticorruptional movement’
antydempinhova sprava ‘antidumping affair’
antydempinhove rozsliduvannja ‘antidumping investigation’
antydempinhovi problemy Ukrajiny ‘antidumping problems of Ukraine’
antydempinhovi procedury ‘antidumping procedures’
antyimmihrants’ki ruxy ‘antiimmigrant movements’
antyrosijs’ki nastroji ‘anti-Russian feelings’
antyukrajins’ki nastroji ‘anti-Ukrainian feelings’
antyinfljacijni zaxody ‘antiinflational measures (actions)’
“*antyoliharxični” nastroji* ‘“antioligarchal” feelings’
antyoliharxična bil’šist’ ‘antioligarchal majority’
antyoliharxični syly ‘antioligarchal forces’
antyavtorytarni (čytaj – antyputins’ki) zajavy ‘antiauthoritarian (read – anti-Putin) declarations’
anty-”utelivs’ke” lobi ‘anti “UTEL” lobby[26]
“*antyukrajinizm”* ‘“anti-Ukrainianism”‘
antykoaliciji ‘anticoalitions’
antyterorystyčne navčannja ‘antiterrorist instruction’
holovnyj “antyteroryst” Rosiji Volodymyr Putin ‘the chief “antiterrorist” of Russia Vladimir Putin’
polityčnyj antykapitalizm ‘political anticapitalism.’

Not a single aforementioned word in is listed in SUM (1970-1980) or in the new NTSUM (2000). Two terms have already appeared in VTSSUM (2001):

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[25] at that time, the Head of the Government in the Crimea
[26] UTEL = Ukrainian Telecom

antykryzovyj 'anticrisis (adj.)' and *antyinfljacijnyj* 'antiinflational' which may be an indication of the degree to which these words are being given legitimacy.

pro-

"With the increasing diversification of political groups, leaders and trends, affixes that denote affiliation to people, groups, theories and events have gained in popularity…" – state Ryazanova-Clarke & Wade (1999: 126). The prefix *pro-* is also popular in Ukrainian. Among some of the examples I might mention are:

proderžavnyc'ki syly 'pro-state forces'
proderžavni, proreformators'ki syly 'pro-state, proreformist forces'
projevropejs'kyj kabinet 'pro-European government'
proprezydents'ki frakciji 'propresidential factions'
proprezydents'ki partiji 'propresidential parties'
projel'cyns'ki kroky 'pro-Yeltsin steps'
prokučmivs'ki syly 'pro-Kuchma forces'
prozaxidnyj urjad 'pro-Western government'
prozaxidni nastroji 'pro-Western feelings'
projuščenkivs'kyj blok 'pro-Juščenko block'
projuščenkivs'ki nacional-demokratyčni partiji 'pro-Juščenko national democratic parties'
proukrajins'kyj 'pro-Ukrainian'
prolukašenkivs'kyj prysmak 'pro-Lukashenka taste.'

The following quotations from the newspaper can serve as a vivid example of this tendency, that is an excessive use of the words with the prefix *pro-*:

> *Oskil'ky naša stratehija bula to prorosijs'koju, to projevropejs'koju, to proamerykans'koju, zaraz Ukrajina počala fatal'no vidstavaty vid tijeji ž Rosiji v rusi do Jevropy* (*Den,'* 3.10.2001).
> 'Since our strategy was alternately pro-Russian, pro-European or pro-American, now Ukraine began a fatal lag behind Russia in its movement to Europe.'
>
> *My povynni zabuvaty pro taki ponjattja, jak prorosijs'ka, proamerykans'ka abo prozaxidna zovnišn'oekonomična polityka.* (*Den,'* [illegible]06. 2001).
> 'We have to gradually forget about such notions as pro-Russian, pro-American or pro-Western foreign economic policy.'

bez-

Among the native affixes prefix *bez-* 'without' is used: "*bezkučmysty*" 'anti- Kuchma forces rallied in *Nacional'nyj Front Porjatunku* 'National Salvation Front' versus *bezkučmisty* (the same meaning, although a slightly different orthography). Some of the native affixes like *ne-* 'non,' *do-* 'pre-' are sometimes used in combination with international affixes (*nepostradjans'kyj prostir* 'non-post-Soviet space,' *dopostradjans'kyj period* 'pre-post-Soviet period').

The traditional prefix *bahato-* 'multi-, many' (*bahatovektornist'* 'multidirection,' *bahatokul'turnist'* 'multiculturalism') is now competing for use with international *poli-* 'poly-' (*polivariantnist'* 'polyvariancy,' *mul'ty-* 'multi-' (*mul'tykul'turalizm* 'multi-culturalism').

post-

"In the Soviet period, the international prefix *post-* 'post-' was rarely found' – state Ryzanova-Clarke & Wade (1999: 125) with respect to the Russian language. SUM (1970-1980) mentions only *postfiks* 'postfix' (368), *postpozytyvnyj* 'postpositive (in a postposition)' (378-379), and *postpozycija* 'postposition' (379). All three terms are marked as *linh.* (linguistic). NTSUM mentions only *postfiks* (2000: 626). The prefix is so widely used in Contemporary Ukrainian discourse nowadays that it is necessary to mention some of these usages:

postindustrial'na modernizacija 'postindustrial modernization'
postkolonial'na nepovnocinnist' 'postcolonial inferiority'
postmodernists'ki oskolky 'postmodernist splinters'

postsocialistyčni krajiny 'postsocialist countries'
postradjans'ki krajiny 'post-Soviet countries'
postkomunistyčni krajiny 'postcommunist countries'
postradjans'ki terytoriji 'post-Soviet territories'
postradjans'ki deržavy 'post-Soviet countries'
postradjans'kyj prostir 'post-Soviet space'
postradjans'kyj osvitnij prostir 'post-Soviet educational space'
postradjans'ka sytuacija 'post-Soviet situation'
post-radjans'ka epoxa[27] 'post-Soviet epoch'
post-radjans'ki vyborči kampaniji 'post-Soviet election campaigns'
postradjans'ka social'na nerozčlenovanist' 'post-Soviet social integrity'
postkomunistyčna transformacija v Ukrajini 'postcommunist transformation in Ukraine'
postradjans'kyj servis 'post-Soviet service'
postsocialistyčna zona 'postsocialist zone'
postkomunisty 'postcommunists'
postfašysts'ki ruxy 'postfascist movements'
postfašyzm 'postfascism'
post-SRSR 'post USSR'
posthorbačovs'ki časy 'post-Gorbachev times.'

As an example of the extensive use of prefix *post-* I can quote:

> *Sučasne ljudstvo v postindustrial'nu, postmodernists'ku, postkul'tovu, postinformacijnu, postelitarno-zorjanu, postxvoroblyvu, postsuper-uskladneno-zaplutanu dobu, pevno, ne duže serjozno stavyt'sja do takoho sobi patriarxal'no-navijuvanoho drib"jazku, jak spovid,' hrix, kajattja* (*Sučasnist'* 2001, 4: 143).
> 'Modern mankind in postindustrial, postmodernist, postcultic, postinformational, postelitist-star, postsick, postsupercomplicated epoch, probably, does not consider very seriously such patriarchially instilled trifles as confession, sin, repentance.'

super-

Among other popular prefixes is *super-* 'super,' to denote the highest possible degree of something:

dvomisnyj "superkar" 'double seated "supercar"'
prezydent-superintelektual 'president-superintellectual'
superhravec' 'superplayer'

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[27] these words occur with different spelling in Ukrainian press (*postaradjans'kyi* and *post-radjans'kyj*)

superpopuljarne podružžja 'superpopular couple'
superkomp"jutery 'supercomputers'
superkluby 'superclubs'
supervažka katehorija 'super heavyweight category'
supermodel'ka 'supermodel'
superaktual'nyj zmist 'super urgent content'
superforvard 'superforward'
superpopuljarnyj 'superpopular'
superprosunena ideja 'super advanced idea'
status supervystavy 'status of super performance'
superdeficytni čobitky 'super deficit (impossible to buy) women's boots'
super-poet 'superpoet'
superovyj 'super' (adj., derivative from *super*)
futbol'na superzirka 'soccer superstar.'

hiper-

hiper- 'hyper': *velyče-e-eznyj hipermarket* 'hu-u-uge hypermarket' (the word *velyčeznyj* 'huge' is redundant here because this notion is already included in prefix *hiper-*);

ul'tra-

ul'tra- 'ultra-': *ul'trasučasnyj vyhljad* 'ultra-modern appearance,' *ul'tranacionalisty* 'ultra-nationalists';

neo-

neo- 'neo-': *neoliberal'na doktryna* 'neoliberal doctrine,' *neo-SRSR* 'neo-USSR'[28] *neokatastrofa* 'neocatastrophe,' etc.;

psevdo-

psevdo- 'pseudo-': *psevdosocializm* 'pseudosocialism,' *psevdonarodna pryvatyzacija* 'pseudonational privatization';

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[28] *U mene henetyčna vidraza do bud'-jakyx projaviv post-, abo šče bil'še – neo-SRSR* 'I have a genetic revulsion to any manifestations of post-, or moreover to neo-USSR,' from the interview by Oksana Zabužko, *Den,*' 30.05. 2001.

meha-

meha- ‘mega-’:

mehasystema ‘megasystem’
mehaproekt ‘megaproject’
mehavplyvovyj upravlinec’ ‘megainfluential manager’
meharivnevi systemy vyščoji osvity ‘megalevel systems of higher education’[29].

kvazi-

kvazi- ‘quasi-’: *kvazipolityčni instytuciji* ‘quasi-political institutions,’ *kvazizbytkovist’* ‘quasi-loss (damage)’ ;

re-

re- ‘re-’: *reinžyniryng* ‘reengineering.’

eks-

The prefix *eks-* ‘ex’ had a rather limited circulation in the Communist times. Now it is widely used, often instead of *kolyšnij* ‘former,’ ‘ex’:

eks-kancler ‘ex- Chancellor’
eks-SRSR ‘former USSR’
eks-car ‘ex-tsar’
eks-bitl ‘ex-Beatle’
eks-kandydat ‘former candidate’
eks-peremožnycja konkursu ‘former winner of the competition’
eks-prezydent ‘former President’
eks-vice-prem”jer ‘ex-vice-prime minister’
eks-hlava urjadu ‘ex-Head of the Government’
eks-holova ‘ex-Chairman’
eks-bombardyr ‘ex-top scorer’
eks-hromadivci ‘former members of the Hromada party’
eks-komunisty ‘former Communists’
eks-peršyj vice-prem’jer ‘former first deputy Prime-Minister.’

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[29] used in the sentence: *Uže try roky pospil’ naša vyšča osvita maje pravo na prefiks “meha” (mehasystema), oskil’ky zahal’na čysel’nist’ studentiv perevyščyla odyn mil’jon* ‘Three years in a row our higher education has earned the right for the prefix “mega” (megasystem), as the overall number of students exceeded one million’ (*Den,’* 9. 08. 2000)

The temporal prefix *eks-* (ibid.) is often interchangeable with *kolyšnij* (ibid.): *Kolyšnij šef MVF pracjuvatyme u Vatykani.* 'The former chief of the IMF will work in Vatican,' used in the title, though in the text itself *eks-šef MVF* is found.

- Compounds and abbreviations

New stump compounds have appeared: *medstrax (medyčne straxuvannja)* (*straxuvannja* – admittedly a russism) 'medical insurance,' not the best choice, because there is Ukrainian word *strax* 'fear' and in combination with 'medical' *med* an undesirable connotation is created[30], *terakt* 'terrorist act,' *henkonsul* 'Consul General,' etc. as well as abbreviations:

DKNS (Deržavnyj Komitet z Nadzvyčajnyx Sytuacij)
'State Emergency Committee' (translation from Russian *GKČP* (*Gosudarstvennyj Komitet po Črezvyčajnomu Položeniju)*

SND (Spivdružnist' Nezaležnyx Deržav)
'CIS' (Commonwealth of Independent States) (translation from Russian *SNG (Sodružestvo Nezavisimyx Gosudarstv)*

MVF (Mižnarodnyj Valjutnyj Fond) 'IMF (International Monetary Fund)'

VR (Verxovna Rada) 'Supreme Council.'

There is strong tendency to create clipped compounds (short ones, usually with suffix *–ka*) for broader concepts: *ničližnyj budynok dlja bezdomnyx (ničližka)* 'shelter for homeless,' *Universytet "Kyjevo-Mohyljans'ka akademija"* (*Mohyljanka)* 'University "Kyiv-Mohyla Academy",' *vyška* 'A league' and also 'capital punishment,' *mobil'nyj telefon* (*mobilka)* 'cell phone.' There are actually two short competing words for 'mobile phone' in Ukrainian: *mobil'nyk* and

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[30] Proof can be found in the title of the article "*Medstrax" – medžax?* '"Medical fear" – medical horror?'

mobilka : *U Rosiji, napryklad, kažut' "mobil'nyk", a ne "mobilka"* … 'In Russia, for example, they say '*mobil'nyk*", and not "*mobilka*"' (*VK*, 29.05.2001), *Mobil'nyk zrobyv svoju spravu* ' The mobile phone did its duty' (*Den,'* 15.06.2001), *mobilka Burjaka* 'Burjak's mobile phone' (*Panorama*, 13.10.2000).

Truncated adjectives, called by Ryazanova-Clarke & Wade (1999: 172) semi-abbreviated words, plus full nouns are excessively used (this is a continuation of a strong Soviet tradition, e. g., *deržkomitet* 'State Committee'):

adminreforma (administratyvna reforma) 'administrative reform'
adminresurs (*administratyvnyj resurs)* 'administrative resource'
deržfinansuvannja (*deržavne finansuvannja)* 'state financing'
ekolyxo (*ekolohične lyxo)* 'ecologic disaster'
inofirma (inozemna firma) 'foreign firm'
turbiznes (turystyčnyj biznes) 'tourist business.'

I will consider this tendency in particular with three adjectives: *deržavnyj* (state), *jevropejs'kyj* (European) and *televizijnyj* (TV). These are not accidental adjectives. *Deržavnyj* is used often because Ukraine now has its own statehood. *Jevropejs'kyj* denotes the orientation of Ukraine towards Europe. *Televizijnyj* reflects the evergrowing role of TV in all societies, including Ukrainian society.

Derž- (meaning *deržavnyj)* + nouns:

deržpaket akcij 'state stock package'
Deržddepartament SŠA 'State Department of the USA'[31]
deržsektor 'state sector'
deržrejestr 'state register'

deržstrukrura 'state institution'

deržvlasnist' 'state property'

deržmajno 'state property'
Deržrezerv 'State reserve'
Derženerhorynok 'State energy market.'

Jevro- (meaning *jevropejs'kyj)* + nouns:

Jevroparlament 'European Parliament'

jevroarena 'European arena'

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[31] sometimes even *Deržđep SŠA* is used, two truncations, syllabic abbreviation

jevropartnery 'European partners'

jevrooblihaciji 'European bonds'

jevrointehracija 'European integration'
jevrostruktury 'European institutions'
jevrostandart 'European standard'

jevrosezon 'European season'

jevrokvalifikacija 'European qualification'
jevrokomisija 'European committee'
jevrotrofej 'European trophy'
jevroslava 'European glory'
jevromasštab 'European scale'

and the famous *jevroremont* 'renovation according to European standards,' so popular in Ukraine.

I will quote two sentences with these truncated adjectives:

> *Sudova systema čekaje jevrostandartiv* (*Den,'* 8.06. 2001, title of the article)
> 'The judicial system waits for European standards.'
>
> *Jevroremont trudovoho zakonodavstva ne zaveršeno*' (*Den*, 3.10. 2001, title of the article)
> 'European renovation of labor legislation has not been completed yet.'

The new word *jevropejist* "Europeist, follower of European choice by Ukraine' is coined[32]. The truncated word *jevro* can be added to another adjective plus a noun: *jevroatlantyčna intehracija* 'European-Atlantic integration.'

Tele- (meaning *televizijnyj*) + nouns:

vitčyznjana "telepolityka" 'native "TV politics"'
teleprodukty 'TV products'

televyroby 'TV products'

telekrytyka 'TV critics'

telekrytyčna holova 'TV critical head'
t. zv. (*tak zvana) teleanalityka* '

televytvir 'TV creation'

telerozvažalivka 'TV entertainment'
"*telekomunalka" '"TV communal apartment"'[33]
telepropovidnyk 'televangelist'
telemovlennja 'TV broadcast'
telemovci 'TV speakers'

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[32] see, *Klub ukrajins'kyx jevropejistiv* 'Club of Ukrainian Europeists' (*Den,'* 12. 08. 2000).
[33] in which kitchen and toilet facilities are shared by a number of tenants

‘(so called) TV analysis’
televplyv ‘TV influence’
teleahitacija ‘TV propaganda’
even *hordovyti telemordjaky* ‘haughty TV mugs.’

Such accepted words as

televizijnyky ‘TV crew’
telestudija ‘TV studio’
teleperedači ‘TV programs’
teleprohramy ‘TV programs’
teleserial ‘TV series’
telekompanija ‘TV company’
telekanal ‘TV channel’
teležurnalist ‘TV journalist’

are not registered in the recent NTSUM (2000), but are all registered in VTSSUM (2001).

In one sentence it is possible to find three cases with a truncated *tele-* ‘TV’:

> *Telešou i televydovyšča vse menše stajut’ sxožymy na ci teleimprezy* (*Den,’* 21.07. 2001).
> ‘TV shows and TV spectacles are becoming less similar to these TV undertakings.’

The Russian language exhibits the same tendency with the use of truncated adjectival forms: *teleblokada* ‘TV blockade,’ *telekiller* ‘TV killer,’ *telesobesednik* ‘TV interlocutor,’ *telediva* ‘TV diva,’ even *telesolženiciada* ‘TV series on Solzhenitsin,’ though the standard Ukrainian word combination, i.e., adjective *televizijnyj* + noun is also used: *televizijna produkcija* ‘TV production,’ *televizijnyj produkt* ‘TV product,’ *televizijnyj henij* ‘TV genius.’

Truncated *tele* can be combined with other noun + noun: *telekinoforum* ‘TV and movies forum.’ Some of these word combinations are written together:

Kiber- (kibernetyčnyj) + noun:

“*kibernastupy*” ‘“cybernetic advances”
‘*kibernacionalisty* ‘cybernetic nationalists’;

part- *(partijnyj)* ‘party’ (adj.) + noun:

partlider ‘party leader’
partlobist ‘party lobbyist’
partmutant ‘party mutant’[34] (these are new combinations);

polit- *(polityčnyj)* ‘political’ + noun:

politparadyhma ‘political paradigm’
politanalityk ‘political analist’
politstyl’ ‘political style.’

The prefixes *part-* and *polit-* have an old Soviet era tradition, but now they have a broader semantic range.

Among the tendencies in Contemporary Ukrainian a tremendous growth in analyticity can be pointed out. Certain words like *biznes* ‘business,’ *internet* ‘Internet,’ *media* ‘media’ are often used as a first component of a word combination (with *biznes*, probably, used more often than others):

biznes-imperiji ‘business empires’
biznes-elita ‘business elite’
biznes-klany ‘business clans’
biznes-forum ‘business forum’
biznes-potencial deržavy ‘business potential of the state’
biznes-struktura ‘business structure’
biznes-liha ‘business league’
biznes-m”jazy ‘business muscles’
biznes-proekty ‘business projects’
biznes-klimat ‘business climate’
biznes-plan ‘business plan’
biznes-vyhoda ‘business advantage’
biznes-vyborči kampaniji ‘business election campaigns’
biznes-uhrupovannja ‘business groups (groupings)’
biznes-dosvid ‘business experience’
biznes-interesy ‘business interests’
biznes-protyriččja ‘business contradictions.’

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[34] previously there were *partaparat* ‘party apparatus,’ *parthrupa* ‘party unit (group), *partbjuro* ‘party bureau,’ *partzbory* ‘party meeting,’ *partrkonferencija* ‘party conference,’ *partorhanizacija* ‘party organization,’ *partorh* ‘party organizer,’ the second word *orhanizator* also truncated to *orh*.

Media 'media' + noun:

media-pidpryjemci 'media entrepreneurs'

media-korporaciji 'media corporations'

media-katastrofa 'media catastrophe'
media-rynok 'media market'

media-pidpryjemstva 'media enterprises'

media-konstytucija 'media constitution'

media-investory 'media investors'

media-osvita 'media education'

media-krytyka 'media critic'
media-olïharx 'media oligarch'

mediaekolohija [35] 'media ecology.'

Internet 'Internet' + noun:

internet-svit 'Internet world'
internet-konferencija 'Internet conference'

internet-vydannja 'Internet publication'

internet-proekt 'Internet project'

internet-reklama 'Internet advertizing'
internet-inkubator 'Internet incubator'

internet-bum 'Internet boom'
internet-kompaniji 'Internet companies'

internet-biznes 'Internet business'

internet-vorota 'Internet portals'

internet-kafe 'Internet café.'

Other combinations of noun plus noun:

art-menedžer 'art manager'

art-krytyk 'art critic'

majster-klas 'master class'

ofšor-biznes 'offshore business'

servis-sytuacija 'service situation'

stryptyz-spivačky 'striptease singers'

top-menedžery 'top managers.'

The other popular noun is *seks* 'sex':

seks-liniji 'sex lines'
seks-telefonistka 'sex telephone operator'
telefonna seks-rozvaha 'telephone sex entertainment'
telefonna seks-industrija 'telephone sex industry'
telefonni seks-posluhy 'telephone sex services.'

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[35] written together

Together with *dystancijne navčannja* 'distance learning' *dystancijnyj seks* 'distance sex' started to be used in Contemporary Ukrainian.

Actually this phenomenon (the combination of an unchanged foreign word and a noun) is not a new one; it existed previously, but not on this excessive level. Shevelov (1951: 32) commented about these words:

> *Osoblyvo ne vidpovidajut' normam ukrajins'koji movy pozyčeni teper u movi ukrajins'koji emigraciji skladeni slova, de peršyj skladnyk – nezminne čuže slovo, napr., dipikarta, dipiplašč. Po-ukrajins'ky tut slid bulo b užyty dvox imennykiv abo imennyka z prykmetnykom, napr., kartka dipi, dipivs'kyj plašč, xoč poodynoki taki vytvory je i v literaturnij movi (kinomexanik, radiopryj-mač).*
> 'Especially combined words, which have spread now in the language of the Ukrainian emigration, do not correspond to the norms of the Ukrainian language where the first component is the unchanged foreign word, for example, DP[36] card, DP raincoat. In Ukrainian two nouns or a noun with an adjective should be used, for example, DP card, DP [adjective] raincoat, though there are a few creations of this kind in the literary language (movie operator, radioreceiver).'

- Acronyms and their derivatives

Many new acronyms appeared denoting new political amalgamations, companies, and new realia in general, though this tradition goes back to the first years of the Soviet state, e. g., *URSR* 'Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic':

> *HUUAM (Hruzija, Ukrajina, Uzbekystan, Azerbajdžan, Moldova)*
> 'Georgia, Ukraine, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, Moldova'
>
> *KSP (kolektyvni sil'hosppidpryjemstva)*
> 'collective agricultural enterprises' (instead of *kolhospy* (*kolektyvni hospodarstva*) 'collective farms')
>
> *MFK (Mižnarodna Finansova Korporacija)*
> 'International Financial Corporation.'

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[36] displaced person

The acronym *PMŽ* (*PMŽ za kordon) (postijne misce proživannja)* 'permanent place for residence' (abroad) is used instead of *PMP* for initial Ukrainian letters (Russian *PMŽ, postojannoe mesto žitel'stva).* Many new derivatives on the basis of acronyms appeared:

endeerivka 'female citizen of former German Democratic Republic'[37]
esendešne turne ministra oborony 'CIS tour of the Minister of Defence'[38]
esendešni susidy 'CIS neighbours'
jeesivs'kyj memorandum 'EU memorandum'[39]

or even taking this form: *SNDivs'ki kinoprostory* 'CIS movie territory (space).' Many derivatives are formed from Russian acronyms though Ukrainian analogues exist: *kagebešna oxorona* 'KGB guard.' This is derived from the Russian *KGB, Komitet Gosudarstvennoj Bezopasnosti* 'Committee of the State Security,' though the Ukrainian equivalent *KDB, Komitet Deržavnoji Bezpeky* existed, and its derivative could be *kadebešna oxorona* 'KGB guard,' *kadebešnyk* 'KGB officer'; but preferred is *kahebešnyk/kagebešnyk,* sometimes pronounced *kehebešnyk/kegebešnyk.* These derivatives did not occur in the press. The recent derivative *esenhovija* 'CIS territory' is formed from Russian acronym *SNG*, instead of Ukrainian *SND*. Russian words are often used to create ironic effect: *vsejevropejs'ka "žytnica"* 'All European bread basket' (written in Ukrainian Russian word *žitnica*, although there is Ukrainian word *žytnycja*), *sovjec'ka vlada* 'Soviet power' (Ukrainian equivalent *radjans'ka vlada*) (title of the article *'Xaj žyve sovjec'ka vlada?* 'Long live Soviet power?').

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[37] Ukrainian *NDR, Nimec'ka Demokratyčna Respublika*
[38] from the acronym *SND*
[39] from *Jevropejs'kyj Sojuz* 'European Union'

The parallel usage of words are quite common, that is, of Ukrainian words and words with strong Soviet coloring (often formed on Russian basis): *bezprytul'nyj, bezdomnyj* 'homeless' and *bomž* 'homeless'[40]. Other Ukrainian equivalents exist: *ljudyna bez vyznačenoho miscja proživannja, osoba bez pevnoho miscja prožyvannja* (*VK*, 19.09.2000). The acronym *bomž* was used in the former Soviet Union with a negative meaning. Now, because of its short form, many Ukrainian derivatives have appeared. The verbs *bomžuvaty* 'to lead homeless way of life,' "*zbomžity*" "to become extremely poor"[41], nouns *bomžuvannja* 'the process of leading homeless way of life'[42], *bomžyxa* 'female homeless", *bomžyzacija* 'growing number of homeless people,' *bomžujučyj* 'homeless.' A justification for the use of *bomž* is that it is easy to create new words on its basis. [43]

Certain concepts can be used as abbreviations (for example, *piar* 'PR'), borrowed words (*pablik rylejšnz* 'public relations,' the title of the textbook *Osnovy pablik rylejšnz* 'The basics of public relations'), or its Ukrainian equivalent (*zv"jazky z hromads'kistju* 'public relations'). Sometimes it is written in Latin (*Ukrajins'kyj* PR), sometimes written as *Pi-Ar* (*Xytre slovo "Pi-Ar" s'ohodni u bahat'ox na sluxu* 'The sly word "PR" today is heard by many'), and even as *Pyar* (*Den,'* 20.09.2000). Many word combinations are built with this word:

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[40] from Russian acronym *bez opredelennogo mesto žitel'stva* 'of no fixed address'

[41] *Ostannja [intelihencija] davno "zbomžila", i do elity vže tomu ne vidnosyt'sja* 'The intelligentsia became extremely poor long ago and that is why it does not belong to the elite,' where the words *ne vidnosyt'sja*, a hybrid, should be better replaced by *ne naležyt'*

[42] *Vel'my sxyl'nyj do bomžuvannja j kontynhent kolyšnix v"jazniv* 'The contingent of former prisoners is also very much inclined to leading a homeless way of life'

[43] In Russian even such new word combination as *internet-bomž* 'Internet-homeless' (*Forum*, 5. 06. 2001) appeared.

“*čornyj PR*”, “*čornyj piar*” “‘black PR’“
PR-texnolohiji ‘PR technologies’
PR-vlada ‘PR power’
PR-kampaniji, piar-kampaniji ‘PR campaigns’
PR-opozycija ‘PR opposition’
PR-aktyvnist' ‘PR activity’
PR-zasib ‘PR means’
piar-firma ‘PR firm’
piar-audyt ‘PR auditing’
piar-texnolohy ‘PR technologists’
piar-faxivci ‘PR specialists’
piar-zaxody ‘PR actions.’

All kinds of possible derivatives appear: noun *piarnyk* ‘PR man’[44], the adjective *piarivs'kyj/pyarivs'kyj* ‘PR’ (*piarivs'ki tradyciji* ‘PR traditions,’ *pyarivs'ka kampanija* ‘PR campaign,’ *piarivs'ki vijny* ‘PR wars,’ *piarivs'ki akciji vlady* ‘PR actions of the authorities’), verb *piaryty* ‘to PR’ (“*po-čornomu” piaryty ministra* ‘to PR the minister in black tones’), nouns “*piarnist*’“, *piarivščyna* ‘PR campaign,’ *piartexnoloh* ‘PR technologist.’

2.2.4.2. New Word Combinations

This period is characterized by non-traditional adjective + noun combinations. Previously, especially in business or political discourse, certain adjectives were used only in certain word combinations. Now they drastically broadened their sphere of combinability.

New word combinations have appeared:

vitčyznjana rehionalistyka ‘native regionalistics’
polityčna dehradacija ‘political degradation’

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[44] *Ale nixto inšyj jak Majakovs'kyj dlja svoho času buv ideal'nym piarnykom* ‘None other than Mayakovsky was the ideal PR man for his time’

polityčna korektnist' 'political correctness'
rehional'nyj mul'typlikator 'regional multiplier'
ukrajins'kyj polytykum 'Ukrainian politicum.'

The new word *elektoral'nyj* 'electoral' is especially popular:

elektoral'na vidpovidal'nist' 'electoral responsibility'
elektoral'no vidpovidal'ni polityčni odynyci 'electorally responsible political units'
elektoral'ni perspektyvy 'electoral perspectives'
elektoral'nyj vik 'electoral age'
elektoral'nyj zapas 'electoral reserve'
elektoral'ni možlyvosti 'electoral possibilities'
elektoral'na opora 'electoral support (backing)'
elektoral'ni priorytety 'electoral priorities'
elektoral'na baza 'electoral basis.'

The scope of word combinations expanded tremendously. In view of the extent of the examples, these are all listed in the appendices. V. Šapošnikov (1998: 171) provides combinations with the word *političeskij* 'political' (see Appendix 4). I found additional word combinations with *političeskij* in Russian (see Appendix 5). In addition, the truncated form *polit-* is often used (see Appendix 6). Sometimes the word *političeskij* or the whole word combination is in inverted commas, showing its unpredictability (see Appendix 7). In Ukrainian the word *polityčnyj* 'political' is used even more often in combination with certain word expressions (see Appendix 8). Some nouns (or adjectives) or the whole word combinations are in inverted commas (see Appendix 9). The combination of *polityčnyj* with other adjective in post or pre-position is also often traced (see

Appendix 10). Finally, the truncated form *polit-* is also used with a noun or an adjective (see Appendix 11).

The extensive use of the word *polityčnyj* (and its derivatives formed by adding prefixes or suffixes) can be exemplified in a few sentences:

> *Ščodo zahalom polityčnoji elity krajiny Havrylyšyn pidkreslyv, ščo vona "bere nadto malo polityčnyx zobov"jazan,' ale bahato polityčnyx povnovažen'"* (*Den,'* 13.02.2001).
>
> 'While speaking about the general political elite, Havrylyshyn emphasized that it "takes too few political obligations but a lot of political authority (power)."'

> *Tak ot, "U.B.N." – ne polityčna i navit' ne apolityčna, a antypolityčna vystava* (*Den,'* 22.03.2001).
>
> 'So, "U.B.N." [title of a play] is not a political, and even not an apolitical, but an antipolitical performance.'

> *Opozycionery zajavljaly, ščo Juščenko teper majže polityčnyj trup* (*Den,'* 23.03.2001).
>
> 'Oppositioners declared that Juščenko now is nearly political dead.'

The adjective *polityčnyj* expanded its semantic application and in the period analyzed modifies more nouns than in previous periods. These word combinations (*polityčnyj* + noun) evidently show the change in the language. In a specific way they reflect the picture of modern times.

Many unpredictable and therefore amusing word combinations appeared:

bjudžetne vym"ja 'budget udder'[45]
"zeleni mahazyny" (about *smitnyky*) '"green stores" (about garbage dumps)'
pljaškovyj biznesmen 'bottle businessman'

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[45] *Ta jix tysjači pryhrilysja bilja bjudžetnoho vymeni* 'Thousands of them got cozy at the budget udder'

"smitnykovyj" biznes '"garbage" business'
jatkovo-čovnykovyj biznes 'booth-shuttle business'
"pidkolesnyj" biznes '"under-the-wheel" business.'

These words show the process of democratization of Ukrainian language, and are contrary to the statement made by Krouglov.

2.2.4.3. Lexical Borrowings and their Derivatives

At present, the Ukrainian language borrows mostly from English. The priority of English business terminology, for example, can be explained in the first place by the higher development of Western economy. Extensively borrowed from English are also political, educational, and sport terms. Sports terminology of English origin has a strong tradition: *futbol* 'soccer,' *basketbol* 'basketball,' *volejbol* 'volleyball,' *hol/gol* 'goal,' *xavbek* 'halfback,' *matč* 'match,' etc.

One of the loan-words is *implementacija* 'implementation'[46] and its derivatives: *implementacijnyj* 'implementational' (*implementacijna problema* 'implementational problem'), the ironic noun "*implementator*" '"implementer".' The other one is *hrant/grant* 'grant' and its derivatives: *hrantodavci* 'grant givers,' *orhanizaciji-hrantodavači* 'organizations giving grants,' *hrantovyj* 'grant' (adj.) (*hrantova psyxolohija* 'grant psychology,' *hrantova dijal'nist'* 'grant activity,' "*hrantove uzaležnennja" ljudej* '"grant dependence" of people')[47].

---

[46] *vprovadžennja naslidkiv vseukrajins'koho referendumu* 'implementation of the results of all-Ukrainian referendum'

[47] *Prote vodnočas isnuvannja na hrantax može vyklykaty pevnu "hrantozaležnist"* 'However, existence on grants can cause a certain "grant dependence".'

Extensive borrowings can be traced (mostly of English origin, denoting US cultural products): *kons'jumeryzm* 'consumerism,' *imidž* 'image,' *ekskljuzyvnyj* 'exclusive,' *preventyvnyj* 'preventive'[48], *virtual'nyj* 'virtual'[49]. Borrowings are widely used:

> *Nezminnym zalyšajet'sja kinopokaz Novoho kanalu – pojednannja staryx dobryx radjans'kyx fil'miv iz sučasnymy blokbasteramy u prajm-tajm.*
> 'The play-list of the New channel remains unchanged – a combination of good old Soviet movies with modern blockbusters in prime-time.'

> *V n'omu bude bahato ekšenu.*
> 'It will have lots of action.'

> *Hlava fiskal'noho vidomstva na čoli polityčnoji partiji – ce suto ukrajins'ke "nou-xau"* ...
> 'The head of the fiscal department at the head of the political party is pure Ukrainian "know-how".

> *U vsix na zustriči budut' "bedžyky", ščob možna bulo pidijty j pročytaty im"ja, prizvyšče.*
> 'All people at the meeting will have "small badges", so you can approach and read first and last names.' (Note that the English 'badge' is Ukrainianized by adding the diminutive Ukrainian ending *–yk).*

Among the recent foreign borrowings is *ombudsman* 'ombudsman.' This is rather a new borrowing in English from Scandinavian (see Jackson and Ze Amvela 2000: 37). Geoffrey Hughes (1988: 16) lists the word 'ombudsman' among "recent acquisitions". In one article from the newspaper *Den'*

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[48] *preventyvna dyplomatija* 'preventive diplomacy,' *preventyvni zaxody* 'preventive measures,' *preventyvna myrotvorčist'* 'preventive peace keeping'
[49] *virtual'na reklama* 'virtual advertizing,' *virtual'ni mahazyny* 'virtual stores,' *virtual'ne zbahačennja* 'virtual enrichment'

(30.06.2000) it is written differently: twice as *ombudsman* and once as *ombudsmen*, both being of singular form.

Quite often, borrowed terms are used in the press (especially in the newspaper *PP* 1994) instead of the native Ukrainian ones:

preventyvnyj udar could be *poperedžuval'nyj udar* 'preemptive strike'
servisni stanciji could be *stanciji obsluhovuvannja* 'service stations'
šyppinhovyj koncern could be *sudnoplavnyj koncern (firma, pidpryjemstvo)* 'shipping concern'
instead of *dyskont* 'discount' *znyžka* could be used.

The borrowed adjective *ofšornyj* 'offshore' became so popular that now it is being used to characterize:

banky 'banks'
zony 'zones'
kompaniji 'companies'
posluhy 'services'
praktyka 'practice'
firmy 'firms'
jurysdykciji 'jurisdictions.'

Borrowed terms are especially popular in business terminology:

valjutnyj tender 'hard currency tender'
klirynh 'clearing'
klirynhovi banky 'clearing banks'
kolaps plateživ 'collapse of payments'
"*pul'ni" uhody* '"pool" agreements.'

Sometimes the borrowed term is not familiar to ordinary people and they mispronounce it. One of the least fortunate is the term *menedžment* 'management.' It is pronounced and even spelled as *mežmenet*, *menežement*, etc.:

Malyj postupyv do liceju mežmenetu, platnyj licej (*Sučasnist'* 2000, 11: 19).

‘My son entered a management secondary school, a private secondary school’

2.2.4.4. Avoidance of Borrowings

There is a certain desire to express some new concepts in Ukrainian without foreign borrowings by using native resources:

> *V usjakomu razi, v krajini utvoryvsja nadlyšok dolarovoji masy (tak zvanyj finansovyj "perehriv"), ščo za pevnyx obstavyn može spryčynyty infljaciju.*
>
> ‘Anyway, in the country there was surplus of dollar mass (so called financial “overheating”), that under certain circumstances can cause inflation.’

> *Storinka pidhotovlena pid patronatom Ternopil’s’koho rehional’noho viddilennja Asociaciji faxivciv z neruxomosti (rieltoriv) Ukrajiny* (*NTH*, 20.09.2000).
>
> ‘The page was prepared under the auspices of Ternopil Regional Branch of Association of Real Estate Specialists (Realtors) of Ukraine.’

There is also a strong tendency to create Ukrainian equivalents; this is not an easy task, for it must compete with the tendency towards internationalization of business and computer terminology: *mižmereža, vsesvitnja pavutyna (internet)* ‘Internet’ (*Den,’* 10.08.2000), *dvopalatnyj parlament (bikameralizm)* ‘two chamber Parliament’ (*DT*, 16.09.2000).

The efforts of Ukrainian speakers to find Ukrainian equivalents for popular foreign terms deserve recognition, and do not impede the democratization process at all:

> *Seminary-majsterni, tak zvani* “workshops”, *frankfurtci provely uže v Prybaltyci, Kazaxstani ta Rosiji* (*PP*, 1994, #6).

'Citizens of Frankfurt already conducted seminars-workshops, so called "workshops", in the Baltic republics, Kazakhstan and Russia.'

Sometimes the meaning of the foreign term is explained in brackets:

ekskljuzyvne pravo (vynjatkove pravo) 'exclusive right'
keš-flou (potočni rozraxunky) 'cash flow (current calculations)'
tendery (mižnarodni torhy) 'tenders (international trades)'
tender (konkurs) 'tender'

> *Redakciji hazety ta fotohrafovi bulo pred"javleno pozov za porušennja prajvesi (tak v amerykans'komu zakonodavstvi nazyvajet'sja nesankcionovane vtručannja u pryvatne, intymne žyttja hromadjanyna)* (*MU*, 15.02.1994).
>
> 'The editorial board of the newspaper and the photographer were sued for breach of privacy (nonsanctioned intrusion into the private, intimate life of citizen is thus named in American legislation).'

With the accepted word *internet* for 'Internet,' Ukrainian *mereža* is quite popular:

internet-proekt 'Internet project'
internetne vydannja 'Internet edition'
"*mereževi" čutky* '"Internet" rumors'
mereževi mandry 'Internet surfing'
mereževi pasovys'ka 'Internet pastures.'

The other variants for Internet are *vsesvitnja pavutyna, svitove pavutynnja* 'world spiderweb.' Nouns *mereževyky* for 'Internet users,' *kontentnyky* 'content users' are also used.

2.2.4.5. Other New Tendencies in Contemporary Ukrainian

An absolutely new tendency in Contemporary Ukrainian, which started in the early 1990s, was to write the whole word or word combination (or at least part of it) in a foreign language (primarily in English, using Latin letters): *web-storinka* ‘web page,’ *web-respondent* ‘web respondent,’ *VIP-hosti* ‘VIP guests,’ *VIP-stojanka* ‘VIP station.’

The extension of word combinations can be easily traced (for example, with the adjective *model'nyj* ‘model’): *model'ne ahentstvo* ‘model agency,’ which existed previously, *model'nyj svit* ‘model world,’ *model'nyj biznes* ‘model business,’ *model'na sfera* ‘model sphere’ (*Den,'* 11.08.2000).

New verbs are being created from corresponding nouns: *vetuvaty* ‘to veto,’ “*henprokurorstvuvaty*” ‘“to work as Prosecutor General’,’ “*omandatyty*” ‘‘to give a mandate”‘[50]. The same tendency can be traced with Russian verbs.[51]

More often it is possible to find words with dual meanings, containing an allusion: e.g., *himnotvorec'* ‘anthem creator’ or ‘shit creator’ (shitty writer) (*PiK*, 26.12. 2000)[52] or the word *zelenyj* ‘green’[53] and *zelenyj* ‘dollar’[54] (*PiK*, 30.01.-5.02.2001).

Further, there is totally new tendency in Contemporary Ukrainian to create combinations of the type analytic adjectives + nouns:

hazova “vorožneča” ‘gas “animosity”‘
hazovi perehovory ‘gas negotiations,’ formerly *perehovory z pytan' postavok hazu*
‘negotiations on the issues of gas delivery’
enerhetyčne krylo urjadu ‘part of the government dealing with energy issues’

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[50] *Lukašenkivciv vže “omandatyly”* ‘‘Lukashenka supporters have already been given mandates” (*VK*, 31.10. 2000).

[51] *sambirovat'* ‘to go in for sambo,’ *osuvenirit'sja* ‘to buy souvenirs,’ *putanit'* ‘to work as a prostitute,’ etc.

[52] *himn* – meaning ‘anthem’ in Ukrainian and *himno* – ‘shit’ (vulgar)

[53] *Holova partiji “zelenyx”* ‘Chairman of the Green party’

[54] *Na dorohi restorany “zelenyx” brakuje* ‘There is not enough ‘green’ for expensive restaurants’

enerhetyčnyj vice-prem"jer 'vice prime-minister in charge of energy problems,'

formerly known as *vice prem"jer z pytan' enerhetyky*

nafto-hazovyj vice-prem"jer 'vice prime-minister in charge of oil and gas issues'

"*trudjaščyj" vice-prem"jer* 'vice prime-minister from *Trudova partija* (Labor party)'

"*trudovyj ljud*" '"people from *Trudova partija*"' (possible reinterpretation of Soviet phrase)

2.2.5. Puristic Tendencies

There is a certain puristic tendency in Ukrainian linguistics (primarily in the Western Ukrainian region). Quite often the purists are not linguists, but representatives of other sciences (Volodymyr Perxač, Marija Hanitkevyč, Andrij Zeliznyj, Mykola Koval,' Ol'ha Kočerha). This tendency (sometimes reflected in dictionaries and linguistic discourse) did not find any serious reflection in newspapers, or in everyday speech. Even proponents of this theory understand its limitations and do not ignore international terminology:

> *Pry zbereženni zahal'novžyvanyx internacional'nyx terminiv neobxidno usunuty zapozyčennja-pokruči z inšyx mov, jakščo ukrajins'ka mova može zaproponuvaty vlasni terminotvorči zasoby. Dlja c'oho rekomendujemo šyroko vykorystovuvaty nadbannja leksykohrafiji "Zolotoho desjatylittja" ukrajins'koho kul'turnoho vidrodžennja (1923-1932), krytyčno pereocinjujučy kožen iz vidrodžuvanyx terminiv z ohljadu na nebezpeku "xutorjanizaciji" ta arxajizaciji ukrajins'koji movy* (Perxač 1993 a: 14).
>
> 'While preserving generally accepted international terms, it is necessary to remove hybrid loans from other languages, if the Ukrainian language can propose its own term creating devices. For this purpose we recommend the lexicographic heritage of the of the "Golden decade" of the Ukrainian cultural rebirth (1923-1932), critically reassessing each of the reviving terms on account of the danger of "provincialization" and archaization of the Ukrainian language.'

The discussion quite often concerns certain words and the proponents of purism or etymological principle recommend certain substitutions. Among the words proposed is *xemija* 'chemistry' (currently *ximija*), derivative *xemičnyj* 'chemical' (currently *ximičnyj)*. Proponents of the etymological principle advance logical and persuasive arguments: *Termin xemija, jakyj pryjšov do nas u latyns'komu varianti, aktyvno vžyvavsja v ukrajins'kij movi do 1938 r.* 'The term *xemija* 'chemistry,' which came to us in the Latin variant, was actively used in the Ukrainian language till 1938' (Perxač 1993 a: 14). Being correct in one respect, that is that it was actively used until 1938, they do not mention a more important point, that it has not been used in Ukraine for more than sixty years. New generations of people have been raised who do not know this word at all. They can understand linguistic arguments, but do not accept them. The list of terms proposed by purists can be quite extensive: *olija* 'oil' instead of *maslo* (technical), *toplennja* 'melting' instead of *plavlennja*, *stacija* 'station' instead of *stancija*, *zlučennja* 'connection' (electrotechnical term) instead od *z"jednannja*, etc. (see Perxač 1993 a: 14).

Proponents of the puristic theory understand the time requirements of chronology:

> *... ne možna staty na tohočasnu pozyciju total'noji nacionalizaciji terminiv. Vin ne vypravdav sebe. Zaraz, peredovsim u zv"jazku z informatyzacijeju suspil'stva, odnoznačno perevažaje internacionalizacija terminiv ...*
>
> 'one can not stand on the former position of the total nationalization of terminology. This approach did not justify itself. Now, mostly in connection with the information revolution in society, an

> internationalization of terminology undoubtedly prevails' (Perxač 1993 b: 90).

Fifty years ago, Jurij Šerex wrote with respect to purism:

> *Pomirkovanyj puryzm do pevnoji miry korysnyj tym, ščo pereškodžaje nadto švydkij i čyslennij pojavi čužyx sliv. Odnače poslidovne vidkydannja vsix vzahali čužyx sliv superečylo b zakonam rozvytku movy. Do toho ž, jak my vže bačyly, mova sama daje sobi radu z čužymy slovamy, postupovo prynaturjujučy jix do svojix norm i zakoniv. Tomu normal'nyj pryplyv čužyx sliv ne škodyt' rozvytkovi movy j ne porušuje jiji cilisnosty, jiji systemy, a často zbahačuje jiji.*
>
> 'Moderate purism is useful to some extent, because it presents an obstacle to the fast and numerous appearance of foreign words. The consistent rejection of all foreign words would contradict the laws of language development. Furthermore, as we already saw, language copes with foreign words, gradually adapting them to its norms and laws. That is why a normal influx of foreign words does not harm language development and does not violate its completeness, its system, but often enriches it' (Shevelov 1951: 45).

Pokrovs'ka (1996: 69) reports on the importance of Šerex's point of view:

> *... pohljad Ju. Šerexa na pomirkovanyj puryzm jak na korysnu tendenciju v nacional'nomu terminotvorenni maje velyke značennja dlja rozrobky sučasnyx ukrajins'kyx terminosystem* '
>
> ...'Ju. Šerex's view of moderate purism as a useful tendency in national terminological building has great importance for the development of modern Ukrainian terminological systems.'

In her article Pokrovs'ka (1996) considers the principles of term building in the 1930s, paying particular attention to the puristic tendencies in the Ukrainian linguistics of that time. She admits that

> *[...] osnovnoju koncepcijeju tohočasnoho terminotvorennja bulo pidšukuvannja narodnoho termina, pobudovanoho za zakonamy ukrajins'koji movy, i zalučennja neznačnoji kil'kosti inšomovnyx terminiv* (Pokrovs'ka 1996: 66)
> '[...] the main conception of term building of that time was a search for the vernacular term, that would be formed according to the laws of the

> Ukrainian language with the addition of insignificant amount of foreign terms.'

Analyzing the Ukrainian dictionaries of the late 1920s-early 1930s (with particular attention to economic and trade terminology), Pokrovs'ka looks for the parallel usage of a native Ukrainian term with the accepted international one. The Ukrainian lexicographers of that time were well aware of the foreign terms and Pokrovs'ka cites *Slovnyk ekonomičnoji terminolohiji (Proekt)* by V. Kryvčenko and V. Zhnatovyč. Xarkiv: Radjans'ka škola, 1931 as an example of this.

Pokrovs'ka (1996: 66) arrives at the conclusion that

> *Purystyčni tendenciji bil'šoju miroju torknulysja slovnykiv zahal'noho pryznačennja, ščo u neznačnij kil'kosti mistjat' terminy torhivli.*
> '[p]uristic tendencies for the greater part involved the dictionaries of the general use that contain only insignificant number of trade terms.'

Total Russification of Ukrainian terminology (according to Pokrovs'ka 1996: 67) causes the desire to change it into national one. The author warns about the unacceptability of automatic transfer and the adoption of some terms from the 1930s that did not pass the test of time. She also criticizes one of the representatives of L'viv terminological school, A. Zeliznyj, for relying too much on Ukrainian diaspora in term building. As an example of extreme purism P. Štepa's (1977) dictionary is cited.

Pokrovs'ka (1996: 68) presents the interesting point of view of Stepan Ryndyk, namely, that an active term, even when unsuccessful, is always better than a foreign one. She warns that

> *[...] nacional'na mova ne značno bude pokraščena, jakščo vylučyty znajomyj zapozyčenyj termin*
> '[...] the national language will not be significantly improved if one has to extract from it a known borrowed term.'

In her article Pokrovs'ka (1996: 68) comes to a specific conclusion: On one hand, she supports necessary and justified borrowings from the other languages, expressing her dissatisfaction with an extreme purism; on the other hand, she draws attention to the creation of national terminology according to the principles of national term building.

She comes to this conclusion for the following reason. In the age of internationalization of terminology she clearly sees as futile the efforts of extreme purists to reject borrowed words and even expel those existing already in the language. Opposing the process of Russification which was very active in terminology, Pokrovs'ka strives to find a foundation of the Ukrainian terminology in the careful consideration and selection of available native resources, taking into account the achievements in national terminological creation during the Golden decade of revival (1923-1932). Simultaneously, she does not support what, from her point of view, are extreme efforts of contemporary purists like the aforementioned A. Zeliznyj. That is why she finds her solution in Šerex's moderate approach on purism.

There is a certain specificity of contemporary Ukrainian purism, which, however paradoxical it may sound, is connected with the process of 'democratization' of the language in general. First and most obviously, contemporary Ukrainian purism could appear only as a direct result of language 'democratization'; after the 1930s all puristic efforts were suppressed and considered nationalist. Second, on a theoretical level, purism leads to diversity, to a search for the native equivalent of the foreign term and to expanding terminology in general. Third and most importantly, the efforts of contemporary Ukrainian purists did not achieve their final goal – i.e., the replacement of foreign borrowed terms, although at conferences there are debates about replacing terms. A couple of dictionaries were created taking into account some considerations of contemporary Ukrainian purists. Fourth and probably lastly, puristic efforts are mostly limited to the Western Ukraine, being mostly rejected in other parts of the country. They found only limited reflection in the Ukrainian mass media and communication. The theoretical basis of contemporary Ukrainian purism is not very well developed, and mostly relies on the ideas expressed in the 1930s and in the diaspora.

I hope my arguments and, what is more important, my numerous specific examples from Contemporary Ukrainian language usage, have proven that Alexander Krouglov was wrong regarding "tendencies towards democratisation being kept in the background" in Contemporary Ukrainian (Krouglov 1999: 45).

2.3. Conclusions

Having considered the historical development of the Ukrainian language (primarily its lexicon) in chapter 1, my objective in chapter 2 has been to show lexical changes in Contemporary Ukrainian (1991-2001), presenting at the same time the lexical system of Contemporary Ukrainian. The Ukrainian language has changed tremendously, keeping pace with the changes in Ukrainian society brought about by independence. What has been written with reference to Russian is also true of Ukrainian: These changes are the "logical continuation of the tendencies that were present in the language at a prior stage" (Comrie, Stone and Polinsky 1996: 2), and "The interplay of external and internal factors in language development is particularly apparent in periods of great political or social change and Russian in the twentieth century is one of the little-studied test cases in this respect" (Comrie, Stone and Polinsky 1996: 2). Ukrainian as a test case is even less studied, I will assert.

During this decade of independence, the Ukrainian lexicon has been tremendously replenished. Among the sources of this replenishment are the re-activation of lexical items which were considered obsolete, the re-orientation of native lexis, re-connotation, reorientation and reinterpretation of words of foreign origin borrowed before perestroika.

Derivation is extremely important for the Ukrainian language in this period; this has been described in detail in this chapter, where often old means like affixes *-izacija, anty-, pro-, post-* are used to form new words for describing new concepts.

Lexical borrowings of this period and the avoidance of borrowings have both been considered. At present, the Ukrainian language borrows intensively from English, while in the previous period (1985-1991) Russian was the main source of its borrowings describing perestroika phenomena. The role of the Russian language as the source of borrowing, in my opinion, will diminish with the passage of time. Quite often the words that came from Russian were not necessarily Russian but perhaps primarily English. Russian, although it can be direct source when a purely native word is involved, was therefore in all probability in most instances a vehicle for borrowings. This, by the way, is the reason why so many English borrowings came into Ukrainian in a phonologically distorted form.

The role of English in this respect will increase, though native Ukrainian equivalents will offer strong competition to the English influences. The puristic tendency in Ukrainian is very important from the point of view of showing alternatives to borrowings for language replenishment.

New inclinations in contemporary Ukrainian have been considered such as the growing use of compound nouns (used in the place of adjectives) as the first component in a noun + noun combination (like *biznes-posluhy* 'business services' instead of native *dilovi posluhy*), the first component of the combination written in a foreign language (primarily English): web-*storinka* 'web-page.'

The semantic combinability of particular words drastically increased, as was shown with the example *polityčnyj* 'political.' New stump compounds (the phenomenon itself is not new, only the components are. The floodgates to this were opened in the early years of Soviet power, i.e., back in the 1920s), acronyms, derivatives based on acronyms and changes in non-standard lexis (informal and slang words) have appeared.

The Ukrainian language examples are provided in detail because mostly they are not registered in the dictionaries of Contemporary Ukrainian like NTSUM (2000) and VTSSUM (2001).

As mentioned previously, the process of democratization in the Ukrainian language is unfolding with unprecedented speed and will continue to do so in the future. This period has been characterized by developing new political, literary, philosophic discourse adapting Western concepts to their Ukrainian correspondents.

Chapter 3 deals with the correspondence of the Ukrainian business lexicon to Western concepts, specific Ukrainian semantic component added to it.

CHAPTER 3

CONTEMPORARY UKRAINIAN BUSINESS LEXICON

3.1. Introduction

The third chapter is based entirely on the results of an experiment conducted in Ukraine. Twenty-six mostly business terms were selected, some of them being brand new and not yet glossed in recent Ukrainian dictionaries. This list of terms, in the order in which they were presented to the subjects, is attached in the Appendix 12 (Questionnaire Form). The prime question in the Questionnaire was: "What is the definition of the term ___? "[1] and one additional commentary was requested: "Which English terms do not have Ukrainian equivalents?" The second question, with respect to additional commentary, deals with what Nigel J. Holden (1995: 51) calls *language deficiency*. "This slightly inelegant expression refers to the very thorny – and arguably underestimated – challenge of the interlingual transfer of western management knowledge, concepts and experience into post-Soviet terms of reference" (Holden 1995: 51). By language deficiency is meant the absence of a term for a specific concept in the target language. The first question deals with words already functioning in Ukrainian; although some people question the status of some of these terms in Ukrainian because of their foreign origin and "unnaturalness", if they exist already, they can not fit in into the category of "linguistically deficient" terms. The problem is partially described by Holden but still remains; – three questions beg to be asked: Do these terms correspond to accepted Western concepts and notions? What are the differences from these Western concepts? What is the specific Ukrainian content added to the terms?

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[1] When there were two terms (# 1, 2, 4, 16, 19, see p. 249-250) one question was asked, but mostly the subjects provided two explanations, correlating in some way both terms.

Five cities in Ukraine were selected for this experiment, namely Rivne, Xmel'nyc'kyj, Ternopil,' L'viv and Kyiv. All subjects were instructors of different business courses at Ukrainian economic universities. In every city, five subjects were interviewed. They did not have any time for preliminary preparation and all their answers were taped and later transcribed. Their work experience at the various universities varied, ranging from 5 to 22 years, and their levels of Ukrainian were different also. Some of them were native speakers of Ukrainian, whereas for some of them Russian was their first language with Ukrainian being used only for instruction. In the analysis below, the informants' responses are analyzed. Wherever a response is especially idiosyncratic, it is quoted verbatim in quotation marks.

The body of new English loans in the domain of business has been chosen because it has some universal properties, i.e. many European languages are receptive to the same terms. Speaking about the Russian language, Šapošnikov (1998: 111) mentions:

> *Preobladajuščij istočnik slovarnyx novacij, osobenno samyx poslednix po vremeni, očeviden: èto anglijskij /amerikanskij jazyk.*
> 'The prevailing source of vocabulary innovations, especially the most recent ones, is evident: it is the English/American language'.

Among the reactivated lexis of pre-Soviet period relating to the economy Ryazanova-Clarke and Wade (1999: 80) include the following ones: *akcija* 'share', *bankir* 'banker', *birža (fondovaja, tovarnaja)* 'stock-exchange', *predprinimatel'* 'entrepreneur', *rynok* 'market', *firma* 'firm'. The same authors (Ryazanova-Clarke and Wade 1999: 141) note:

> "Perhaps the largest area of foreign lexical influx is the economic and business sphere, where the terminology of new market-oriented developments in Russian economic life is particularly prominent: *audit* 'audit', *konsalting* 'consultation', *marketing* 'marketing', *menedžer* 'manager', *menedžment* 'management', *sponsor* 'sponsor', *f'jučers* 'futures' and others".

Kostomarov (1999: 110) remarks on borrowing and native Russian terminology:

> *Po mode dnja anglijskie slova zaimstvujutsja, daže kogda nalico ne menee točnye russkie èkvivalenty, naprimer: stagnacija (zastoj)* 'stagnation.'
> 'Following the fashion of the day, English words are being borrowed, even when there are not less precise Russian equivalents, for example: *stagnacija (zastoj)* 'stagnation.'

The same author deliberates on the use of two English borrowed terms -

nou-xau "know how' (Ukrainian equivalent *nou-xau*):

> *... ponjatie, kotoroe v XIX veke oboznačali kak* savoir-fair, *nyne my rešitel'no imenuem* know-how, *často izobražaja èto russkimi bukvami – nou-xau.*
> '...the concept which in the XIXth century was denoted as savoir-fair, nowadays we resolutely name know-how, often writing it in Russian letters – *nou-xau*' (Kostomarov 1999: 111)

and *f'jučersy* 'futures' (Ukrainian equivalent *f'jučersy*):

> *Možno soglasit'sja s poleznost'ju zaimstvovanija termina f'jučers* 'futures', *xotja i est' ne sovsem, možet byt', točnye ego russkie èkvivalenty predoplata, zadatok i proplata...*
> 'One can agree with the usefulness of borrowing the term *f'ju čers* 'futures', though, there are, probably, not exactly precise its Russian equivalents *predoplata, zadatok* and *proplata...*' (Kostomarov 1999: 112-113).

Among the reasons why foreign borrowed terms are often preferred over native ones, Ryazanova-Clarke and Wade (1999: 140) point out:

> "Finally, socio-psychological factors such as the prestigious status of a foreign word (especially an English word) frequently account for the preference, often unjustified, given to loans over native words: *konsalting* 'consultation' (cf. *konsul'tirovanie*)".

The same process of extensive borrowing from English is also evident in Polish business lexicon. Linde-Usiekniewicz (2002) provides the following meanings of the English term marketing I *n* 1 (*process, theory*) marketing; **product/service ~** marketing produktu/usług; **to work in ~** zajmowac się marketingem 2 (*department)* dział *m* marketingu (2002: 728)
and manager *n* (*of business, company, bank, theatre, institute, school*) dyrektor *m*; (*in showbusiness, sport*) menażer *m*, menedżer *m*; gospodarz (2002: 723).

In this chapter an attempt will be made to integrate subject matter from linguistics and business, although this is not an easy task. Holden (1995: 53) notes that "… Russian was deprived of lexical resources for the description and apprehension of Western phenomena (except, arguably, in science). This ideologically motivated semantic and ontological vacuum is […] one of the key factors responsible for language deficiency…" This statement is also true regarding Ukrainian.

"Defunct Soviet republics, which are now independent states (for example, Ukraine, the Baltic republics, Georgia, and Moldova) are promoting their own national and cultural assertion" – states Holden (1995: 54). There are some common features with Ukrainian, which Holden (1995: 54) noticed for Russian, e.g., "[...] entire areas of Russian lexis are becoming redundant; the language of socialism is being eroded,' "[…] Russian is absorbing hundreds of foreign terms from foreign languages (like English)".

For my research the following statement by Holden (1995: 54) was very important: "A high proportion of these imported words are to do with business, management and economics – the lexis of not merely of the market economy, but of *a new way of life and underlying assumptions and attitudes*". Holden (1995: 55) also remarked that "the central problem is, of course, that the underlying concepts behind the terms and the realities they connote to Westerners fall outside Russian/Soviet experience". Ukraine, like Russia, has the same problem that some concepts are not yet realities.

"[...] Russian managers have yet to see the need for a new language – that complex fusion of new words and new concepts – which they can develop to describe and classify their activities under 'non-socialist conditions" (Holden 1995: 56). Ukrainian subjects developed this need for a new language for the time of the experiments (December 2000 – January 2001). Under the influence of Holden's article I also decided to compare English and Ukrainian business terms and consider 'deviation' (Holden 1995: 56) from standard Western business practices.

The following dictionaries were used to analyze the aforementioned terms: Mel'nyčuk (1974, 1985), Linnikov (1992), Tryn'ko (1992), Vaškiv (1993), Havrylyshyn (1993), *Orfohrafičnyj slovnyk ukrajins'koji movy* (OSUM) (1994), Močernyj (1995), Kyjak (1997), Krouglov (1997), Zelens'kyj (1998), Slipuško (1999) and, for English, Webster (1993)[2]. Webster (1993) was chosen because it provided definitions of all 26 terms. Other English dictionaries (of business and economics), although more modern and up-to-date, provided only definitions of some of the terms listed in the Questionnaire, and for this reason could not be used in my research. Definitions for the 26 terms were not selected from the same dictionaries; the most relevant ones for a particular term were preferred.

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[2] Webster's definitions have been deliberately shortened and certain definitions are not up-to-date. Obsolete and 'non-business' components of the word are mostly omitted.

3.2. Ukrainian Business Terms

In what follows I will provide an analysis of these 26 terms. Due to the limits of the research there are certain constraints: all 25 answers for every term are grouped into typical categories with particular semantic, business or logical distinctions. These categories are presented in my research in the order of their frequency, with the most frequent ones presented first and the least frequent presented last.

3.2.1. *menedžment (upravlinnja)* ‘management’

Mel’nyčuk (1985: 529) defines *menedžment* as follows: (English ‘management’) *kapitalistyčna orhanizacija upravlinnja vyrobnyctvom* ‘capitalist organization of the management of production.’ The previous edition of the same dictionary, Mel’nyčuk (1974), defines it as *kapitalistyčna orhanizacija upravlinnja menedžeramy* ‘capitalist organization of the management of managers.’ If we remove *kapitalistyčna* ‘capitalist’ from the recent edition it will sound like standard definition of this term (*orhanizacija upravlinnja vyrobnyctvom* ‘organization of production management’). The word *menedžment* was introduced into the Ukrainian business setting in the beginning of the 1990s, though

Melnyčuk cites it already in 1974 and 1985, with respect to "capitalist management". This introduction was not carried out simultaneously in all of Ukraine. Some of the people interviewed mentioned that they only first discovered this word in the mid 1990s. In some places it was actively used at that time, in some places it was a neologism. The word is included in OSUM (1994: 367). Havrylyshyn (1993: 70) presents *menedžment (jak nauka)* – management 'management (as a science) – management.' Elsewhere, *menedžment* is defined as *sukupnist' pryncypiv, metodiv, zasobiv i form upravlinnja, sprjamovanyx na zbil'šennja prybutku* 'combination of principles, methods, means and forms of management aimed at increasing profit' (Slipuško 1999: 150).

Webster (1993: 1372) defines management as **1**: the act or art of managing: as **a**: more or less skilled handling of something (as a weapon, a tool, a machine) **c**: the conducting or supervising of something (as a business); esp: the executive function of planning, organizing, coordinating, directing, controlling, and supervising any industrial or business project or activity with responsibility for results **4a**: the collective body of those who manage or direct any enterprise or interest: the board of managers **b**: employer representation in an employer-employee relationship – opposed to labor.

When defining *menedžment*, the Ukrainian subjects had to compare it to some extent with native Ukrainian *upravlinnja*[3]. There are basically three different responses with reference to the definition of *menedžment (upravlinnja):*

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[3] Subjects were not asked to compare, but in some instances they themselves made comparisons, especially when two parallel terms were provided.

- *Menedžment* and *upravlinnja* are synonymous terms, meaning the same thing, that is, the borrowed *menedžment* and the native *upravlinnja*. The subjects did not see any big discrepancy between them, and mentioned that they do not make any distinction between the terms *menedžment* and *upravlinnja*. *Menedžment* or *upravlinnja* is the coordination for use of three basic resources – work, capital and labor forces focused at achieving the economic goals of the company or firm. Managers head the projects which an organization or a company ordains. Management is deemed essential for a company to be able to work effectively. And the main role in the implementation of management policy is played by the person called *menedžer* or *upravlinec'* 'manager' since he is responsible for the performance of the following functions: organization, planning, motivation and control. As one of the subjects said, he does not see any difference between the term borrowed from another language and the native Ukrainian word. One was of the opinion that the majority of young instructors considered the Ukrainian term narrower than the English one solely due to the fact that formerly that particular science, for example, did not develop in our country. His idea was not to use terms borrowed from the foreign languages if there is a possible Ukrainian equivalent. He prefers the term *upravlinnja*, though the term *menedžment* is in the course he teaches. He indicated that *upravlinnja* is an extremely broad term that can be applied to everything, beginning with the smallest production unit, or a project at the university and finishing on the scale of the national economy. This *upravlinnja* can conform itself to any level and in that level develops its own structure. The same instructor admitted the same capability and capacity as being inherent in the Ukrainian term *menedžment.* The other instructor did not see the need to differentiate the terms *menedžment* and *upravlinnja.* Through the course of our lives, he declared, we have used *upravlinnja* and it is still fine. But now with the introduction of new courses and the translation of foreign literature people began the wide use of the term *menedžment.*

- *Menedžment* is a broader concept than *upravlinnja.* Some of the subjects emphasized that *menedžment* is more modern, includes the latest achievements, dealing more with entrepreneurship, business, private, corporative interests. The term *upravlinnja* was more used with reference to *komandno-administratyvna systema* 'the command and administrative system.' One of the subjects emphasized that there is a significant difference between these two terms: *Menedžment* is a term applied to the market economy, i.e., the style of governing utilizing the market elements, and is aimed more at the usage of individual intellect. *Menedžment* is easier to understand where market transformations are taking place. This subject pointed out that these new terms appeared 4 - 5 years ago together with the new literature of the time. They had not been used previously. It was also mentioned that *upravlinnja* is a very narrow notion and is one of the functions of management. The other subject indicated that previously only *upravlinnja* had been used, and with introduction of market relations *upravlinnja* as such ceased to exist at all or had been replaced by *menedžment. Upravlinnja*, in her opinion, was used only as the result of an action aimed at the achievement of one certain goal. *Menedžment* was dubbed a Western term with no such subject having existed previously. There was a subject called "*Upravlinnja narodnym hospodarstvom*", and now *menedžment* is used as the science of *upravlinnja.* One of the subjects was of the opinion that only *menedžment* is taught now and not *upravlinnja* (this is a point of view that is not supported by the results of this experiment). Motivating desired behaviour in other people is very important in the field of *menedžment.*

Menedžment is the system of knowledge and/or skills used by the CEOs or director of the company that can be applied to promote increased effectiveness in the company with reference to the conditions of market economy. One subject considered *menedžment* as the highest level of *upravlinnja.* She underlined that *upravlinnja* is perceived rather negatively by instructors as well as students because it reminds them of past times (*mynuli časy*).

- *Menedžment* is narrower than *upravlinnja. Upravlinnja* is more often applied to the state government or management, though there is a notion *menedžment derzavnoho upravlinnja* 'management of state government.' One of the subjects was of the opinion that *upravlinnja* is a "broader" notion, meaning management on the level of the state. *Menedžment* is equated solely with the company level, to certain definite organizational structures. In fact, she stated that *menedžment* is used in the sphere of economics and *upravlinnja* is to be used if we are talking about state government; *menedžment* is directed specifically at business activity. If we were to employ English equivalents, according to this subject, *upravlinnja* would be equal to our 'government' or 'governing,' and *menedžment* – would be 'management.' *Menedžment* is used more with respect to a private business, because it came to Ukraine from the West, where in private enterprise (*sprava*) it is developed for business firms and other related structures. *Menedžment* now is a widely used word. For example, in the Regional Centre at the Technological University of Podillja (Xmel'nyc'kyj) they have managers responsible for upgrading skills, employment, managers of training firms, etc. Newer units that are being created use the notion of *menedžment*. *Menedžment* and *marketynh* 'marketing' are more connected to each other and came with the introduction of the market economy.

Menedžment is the professional activity connected with the establishment of certain goals and the development of certain measures (or actions) regarding the achievement of these goals. *Menedžment,* as a rule, is limited to the level of microeconomics.

Summary and discussion: 9/25 subjects share the first definition, 7/25 share the second definition and 5/25 share the third one. 4/25 subjects do not provide any comparison of *menedžment* and *upravlinnja*.

The new term *menedžment* is understood to be in the contemporary Ukrainian business lexicon (by approximately 50% of the subjects, i.e., 9 subjects who saw both terms as synonymous plus 4 subjects who did not provide any comparison of both terms) as synonymous to the term *upravlinnja.* 12/25 subjects try to differentiate both terms, with 7/25 assigning broader semantic meaning to *menedžment.*

These differences in perception can also be related to the fact that some subjects use this term extensively and for some it is an innovation.

The content analysis of the Ukrainian borrowed *menedžment* demonstrates an element of inadequacy and instability in the perception of the term by Ukrainian business instructors. First, its correlation with native Ukrainian *upravlinnja* is not always clear (the same, broader or narrower concept, no idea) and, second, the semantic meaning (though the word is used very often) is often rather vague and non-distinct.

It is a constant juxtaposition of a) modernity (often associated with the Western business terminology) versus b) the 'old Soviet connotation' (and the correspondingly narrower semantic content for some of them). Because of its 'modern' meaning and prestige of the Western type business and correspondingly terminology, the foreign borrowed word can be assigned a broader semantic content than it has been given in Western business practice.

3.2.2. *menedžer* 'manager' (*dyrektor* 'director')

Mel'nyčuk (1985: 529) defines *menedžer* as *specyfičnyj social'nyj prošarok sučasnoho kapitalistyčnoho suspil'stva, vključaje najmanyx profesijnyx kerujučyx (dyrekrory pidpryjemstv, kerivnyky okremyx pidrozdiliv) u koncernax, trestax, syndykatax tošČo* 'a specific social layer of the modern capitalist society, that includes hired professional managers (directors of enterprises, managers of certain divisions) in concerns, trusts, syndicates, etc.,' the same explanation is to be found in the previous edition of Mel'nyčuk (1974). The term is included in OSUM

(1994: 367). Močernyj (1995: 193) presents *menedžer (vid anhl.* manager – *upravljajučyj) – specyfična profesija, jaka vymahaje sxyl'nosti do pidpryjemnyc'koji dijal'nosti* … 'manager (from the English 'manager') – specific profession, which requires an inclination toward entrepreneurial activity…' Havrylyshyn (1993: 27) translates manager – *kerivnyk, menedžer*. Vaškiv (1993: 90) defines *menedžer* as *najmanyj kerujučyj, jakyj volodije profesijnymy znannjamy po orhanizaciji i upravlinnju vyrobnyctvom* 'hired manager, who has professional knowledge on the organization and management of production.' Slipuško (1999: 150): *najmanyj upravytel,' specialist z upravlinnja* 'hired manager, specialist in management.' Krouglov (1997: 68): manager - *menedžer, kerivnyk, zaviduvač, dyrektor* 'manager – manager, leader, head, director.'

Webster (1993: 1372) defines manager as one that manages: a person that conducts, directs, or supervises something: as **a**: one that conducts business or household affairs with discreet frugality and care <a very good ~, able to make a little go a long way> **c**: a person whose work or profession is the management of a specified thing (as a business, an institution, or a particular phase of activity within a business or institution) **e** (1): a person that in various professional sports (as baseball or boxing) is in overall charge of a team or athlete **f**: a person appointed by elected officials to supervise the activities of a civic corporate body – see CITY MANAGER.

There were basically three approaches with respect to opposition between *menedžer* and *dyrektor*:

- *Dyrektor* is the chief manager or senior manager; the representative who conducts the management of the company within the state form of ownership. The 'director' is the chief manager of any enterprise because this notion has to be differentiated from the idea of *vlasnyk* 'owner,' previously not applicable to Ukraine. The owner in small companies has his own ownership and hires a manager, who can be the director of his firm or can perform the duties of both positions. But if the company is big, then the director has other managers for various company functions – production, marketing, accounting and auditing. The term *dyrektor* is better suited to *upravlinnja*, because this is a person who is appointed by senior authorities. The head of any functional unit that has been subordinated to *dyrektor* could be the head of a division, i.e., the main specialist of the unit who is also considered a manager. *Dyrektor* has a higher position than *menedžery,* who are subordinate to him. *Dyrektor* has to organize managers and not manage the company himself. *Menedžer* is a person who conducts the management, that is the coordination of the work for achieving goals of a company or organization. The term *menedžer* is used for *upravlinec'* of a lower level, not for a key person in the company. *Dyrektor* deals more with official matters, *menedžer* deals more with non-official matters, such as motivation. *Dyrektor* is more concentrated at outer contacts, *menedžer* more at inner organization, company itself. *Dyrektor* has more responsibilities than *menedžer*, thinks another subject. According to him, *menedžer* is *upravljajučyj* and we can do without this term *menedžer*. *Menedžer* is equated with a hired clerk, a non essential position not connected to the reality/productive ability of the enterprise. But *menedžer* is a fashionable term now, a term in vogue. *Menedžer* is not obligatorily the head of the company.

Dyrektor is at the linear management level and the normal *menedžery* operate at the functional level. *Dyrektor* is not *upravlinec,'* he is the administrator, the person who takes administrative work. The term *menedžer* is applied to management activity within the company or firm, while *upravlinec'* is applied to the different levels of the state, starting with the supreme level and finishing at the level of the local authorities.

- Both terms are synonymous, there is no distinction between *menedžer* and *dyrektor*. One of the subjects said that they train managers at their university. These are people that will deal with the generation of ideas and making decisions for the enterprise. The word *menedžer*, one other subject pointed out, had became informal and all people now call themselves *menedžery* 'managers.' A trade agent in many companies is dubbed with the title *menedžer po zv"jazkax z hromads'kistju* 'manager responsible for public relations.' This subject thinks that *dyrektor* has to be *menedžer*, because he manages people. It is probable that not all directors understand it the same way. One of the subjects (a purist) says that *dyrektor* is also not a good word choice because of its foreign non-Ukrainian origin. Instead he suggested the position would be more appropriately called *upravlinec,' upravljajučyj*. He felt that in Ukrainian business literature the distinction is often made, as if a manager takes on more responsibility. People think in that the term *menedžer* is broader than the term *dyrektor*. He thinks that there is no difference. This can be a person at the head of some unit, such as a plant, a branch or some other structure. It could be *dyrektor* of a factory or plant, in other spheres position might be called *načal'nyk*, or it can have another name, in university – *rektor* 'rector,' appearing at the higher educational establishments of the first to second level of accreditation – *dyrektor*. This term has a slightly administrative coloring. *Rektor* is a person who deals with the management of the whole structure and/or organization. The terms *menedžer* and *dyrektor* could be easily replaced by *upravljajučyj*, stated another subject, and we would not have any problems. In modern terminology, *dyrektor* and *menedžer* should be concentrated in one person, considers one of the subjects.

- The notion of *menedžer* is broader than that of *dyrektor*. Formerly *dyrektor* did not have to be a manager. *Menedžer* came in when Western economic science became the heritage of everyday life. The term *menedžer* is associated with new style, risk-taking. *Menedžer* introduces a system of management in the company using the most efficient means and methods. *Menedžer* invokes the image of a creative person, who carries responsibility for certain matters, who organizes and experiments to achieve optimum results. He is a more creative person than the director, asserts one of the subjects.

Summary and discussion: 15/25 subjects share the first definition, 6/25 subjects share the second definition, 2/25 share the third one. 2/25 do not contrast *menedžer* and *dyrektor*.

Contrasting the terms *menedžer* and *dyrektor*, the majority of the subjects (15/25) considered *dyrektor* to be a higher position, with a broader variety of responsibilities, a person conducting management of a company under state ownership. *Dyrektor* is more accepted and understandable for business public than the newer term *menedžer* however the diversity of possible oppositions (modern/old, state vs. the private [non-state] form of ownership, big/small company) does not help to provide a clear and distinct picture. The economic level of Ukrainian society precludes the direct transference of Western business concepts. It can be transferred on the surface level of borrowed English terms, but not on the level of their internal semantic content. The level of development of a society defines the responsibilities and functions of a certain position and ostensibly the manner and usage associated with a term. So long as Ukrainian business practice has not achieved the level of Western business there will always be an inadequacy and a disparity in the business lexicon, at least, on the internal semantic level.

24% of the subjects (6/25) consider both terms synonymous, largely, in my opinion, due to rather unstable semantic content of the new *menedžer* and uncertain change and adoption of the formerly used *dyrektor*.

3.2.3. *pidpryjemec'* 'entrepreneur'

The word is included in OSUM (1994: 521). Slipuško (1999: 80) presents *pidpryjemec'* as 1) *toj, xto volodije promyslovym, torhovel'nym i t. in. zakladom; 2) orhanizator vyhidnyx sprav, prybutkovyx operacij toščo* '1) a person, who owns an industrial, trade and similar establishment; 2) an organizer of remunerative undertakings (paying businesses), profitable transactions.' Havrylyshyn (1993: 78) translates *pidpryjemec'* as entrepreneur. Kyjak (1997: 148): *pidpryjemec,' biznesmen*, as entrepreneur, businessman: *Osoba, jaka vyšukuje zasoby dlja orhanizaciji pidpryjemstva i tym samym bere na sebe pidpryjemnyc'kyj ryzyk* 'A person, who is trying to search out resources for the development of enterprise and one who takes entrepreneurial risk.'

Webster (1993: 759) defines entrepreneur as **1**: the organizer of an economic venture; esp: one who organizes, owns, manages, and assumes the risks of a business **2**: one that organizes, promotes, or manages an enterprise or activity of any kind: PRACTITIONER, PROMOTER **3**: one who serves as an intermediary: MIDDLEMAN, GO-BETWEEN.

Basically there were two different tendencies in responses relative to the definition of the term *pidpryjemec'*:

- A person involved in entrepreneurial activity. The subjects, for the most part, stressed that this is a title for one who is dealing with private business or a private undertaking. He[4] has certain responsibilities before the state. Such a person conducts organized activity with his own funds and accepts the risk that this entails. *Pidpryjemec'* is more involved into material production. *Pidpryjemec'* is a person who makes the most of his own opportunities, is oriented toward the customer, satisfies the demands of the market, has his own interests and works toward them. This is a person working to produce something or to provide services and is engaged in commercial transactions, realizing a profit from them.

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[4] In most of the responses the subjects used "he".

Pidpryjemec' deals with the realization of new ideas and types of services. *Pidpryjemec'* is a broad concept and as one of the subjects emphasized at this time in Ukraine there are a lot of *pidpryjemci*. In his words, when you ask a student in Ukraine: “What is your father’s occupation?”, the answer most probably will be: “*Pidpryjemec'*”.

Pidpryjemec' can have his own business or can be a co-owner (*spivvlasnyk*). The other subject emphasized that *pidpryjemec'* initiates certain undertaking and opens his enterprise, is in the role of owner, investor, founder and uses his own or borrowed assets and other resources. He is always connected with entrepreneurial risk. *Pidpryjemec'* cannot live for long periods under the same conditions, who always is looking for something new. It is very difficult to predict how he will act under this or that situation.

One of the subjects gave the definition that *pidpryjemec'* is a person who is involved in entrepreneurship or *biznes*, and who performs certain functions: in the organization of his own undertaking, motivating the people who work with him, making his own non-standard decisions, seeking a very specific market niche and dealing with the associated economic risks (this is every *pidpryjemec'* without exception). *Pidpryjemec'* makes certain innovations in the production sphere or any other sphere with the purpose of making a greater profit.

Another subject pointed out that this term is old in the Ukrainian language, but the context it carries now is slightly different and concludes that this is a person who takes risk, an innovator, who is responsible for whole situations.

Not all people can be *pidpryjemci*, only 6% of population possesses such an ability (according to the Western sources, as the subjects indicated). *Pidpryjemci* often put together their property and entrepreneurial activity.

The subject contrasted the term *pidpryjemec'* with *menedžer*: While *menedžer* is actually *upravlinec,'* a person involved in managerial activity and a hired worker, *pidpryjemec'* is a person who is not afraid of taking risk, because he invests his own capital and he desires to profit from these invested resources.

One of the subjects offered a clarification in stating that the term *pidpryjemec'* is applied more to small and middle sized enterprises, for big enterprises more applicable is the concept *biznesmen.* The other subject does not see any difference between *pidpryjemec'* and *biznesmen.* Both *pidpryjemec,'* and *biznesmen* are persons with similar goals, according to him.

Biznesmen is a person who can work in both official and unofficial spheres, indicated one of the subjects.

One of the subjects mentioned that *pidpryjemec'* and *pidpryjemnyctvo* are our Ukrainian terms, and *biznes, biznesmen* are the terms that were used in the West and which have recently been introduced with people trying to discover some distinction between them.

- A non-professional, person motivated by entrepreneurial enthusiasm. This is a person who develops certain concepts into the reality of working projects or businesses. In fact, the difference between *pidpryjemec'* and *menedžer* is that *menedžer* is a professional, who knows how to achieve certain goals in an organization of any type or any profile. *Pidpryjemec'* is rather a person who is motivated by enthusiasm, who is driven to develop certain personal initiatives and who does not want to make his mark in someone else's company or organization, but wants to achieve success in endeavors which are personally conceived of and operated.

Summary and discussion: 22/25 subjects shared the first definition, while only 3/25 shared the second one.

The overwhelming majority of the subjects agree that *pidpryjemec'* is a person involved in entrepreneurial activity. The definition in the Ukrainian context can be understood by asking the question: "What is an entrepreneurial activity in Ukraine?", and in enquiring as to what extent can *pidpryjemec'* proceed in his entrepreneurial activity and by identifying the modalities of conduct (legal and/or illegal) in business.

In certain cases the subjects did not provide a clear distinction between *pidpryjemec'* and 1) *biznesmen*, 2) *menedžer*, 3) *dyrektor*.

The semantic content of the word is rather vague due to underdevelopment of standard Western business practices in Ukraine.

In order to become a successful *pidpryjemec,'* a person in Ukraine and in the West must negotiate different systems of obtaining 1) crediting (financing), 2) licencing; and in distribution of the goods produced.

Entrepreneurial activity in the West demonstrates a greater level of transparency and accountability at this present stage.

3.2.4. *biznesmen (dilova ljudyna)* **'businessman'**

The word is included in OSUM (1994: 47). Močernyj (1995: 24) presents *biznesmen* as *komersant, pidpryjemec,' ljudyna, jaka robyt' vyhidnu spravu (biznes)* 'merchant, entrepreneur, a person who conducts a profitable business.' Vaškiv (1993: 19) explains *biznesmen* as *komersant, jakyj zajmajet'sja bud'-jakym vydom ekonomičnoji dijal'nosti, ščo prynosyt' prybutok abo inšu vyhodu* 'merchant, who deals with any kind of economic activity, which brings profit or some other benefit.' Slipuško (1999: 43): *biznesmen – pidpryjemec,' komersant, jakyj pracjuje u pevnij sferi ekonomičnoji dijal'nosti z metoju oderžannja prybutku čy inšoho zysku* 'businessman – entrepreneur, merchant, who works in a particular sphere of economic activity for the purpose of gaining profit or other benefit.' Havrylyshyn (1993) does not register businessman or *biznesmen* in either of the English or Ukrainian parts. *Biznesmen* is also not registered in Tryn'ko (1992). Kyjak (1997: 40) : *biznesmen*, businessman – *anhlijs'ke* businessman, *bukval'no – dilova ljudyna. Komersant, pidpryjemec,' jakyj zajmajet'sja biznesom* 'businessman – English businessman, literally – business person. A merchant or entrepreneur, who conducts or is involved in business.'

Webster (1993: 303) defines businessman as a man who transacts business; especially: a business executive.

There are basically three different responses with respect to the pair *biznesmen* and *dilova ljudyna*:

- *Biznesmen* and *dilova ljudyna* are synonymous terms, meaning a person involved in a business or commercial activity. One of the subjects explained that *biznesmen* is *dilova ljudyna. Biznesmen* can be a person who achieved success in his business, in his *vlasna sprava* 'own business' and that is why he has a certain influence, a certain image, certain skills regarding his business, that is he has achieved good results in his specific area. The activity of a businessman should not necessarily be connected with innovations or know-how. *Biznesmen* can have non-production *sprava* 'business.' Mostly it is buy-and-sell business.

  The term *dilova ljudyna* was also considered as a translation of "businessman". One of the subjects mentioned that he does not see a difference between *biznesmen* and *dilova ljudyna.* This subject who prefers native lexicon does not use the terms *biznes* and *biznesmen* in his everyday communication. Instead of *malyj biznes* 'small business' he uses the term *male pidpryjemnyctvo* 'small entrepreneurship'

- The term *biznesmen* is broader than *dilova ljudyna*. One of the subjects defined *biznesmen* as a person who deals with his own business. This person uses his knowledge and skills in order to make money. *Dilova ljudyna* is not necessarily *biznesmen.* As the same subject explained, *dilova ljudyna* can only be one of the characteristic features of *biznesmen.* The other subject defined *biznesmen* as a person who deals with entrepreneurial activity, foreseeing the receipt of a profit. Regarding *dilova ljudyna,* this is more an evaluation of his business qualities, the ability of the person to perform this or that job. *Biznesmen* is a person who, though probably lacking certain business qualities, is able to lead entrepreneurial activity. The other definition provided is that: *biznesmen* is a person who can effectively manage his time, people and assets. Not every *dilova ljudyna* can be *biznesmen.* One of the definitions was: *biznesmen* is a person who performs the management of his small business, *dilova ljudyna* is a person who directly supports business and also likes it. One of the subjects emphasized that *dilova ljudyna* is rather an image or the interpretation of an image. *Biznesmen* is a specific person who makes money. *Dilova ljudyna* performs his *sprava* and makes it professionally. The other subject mentioned that *biznesmen* is a person who acts independently, an economically independent person.

- The term *dilova ljudyna* is broader than *biznesmen*, because *dilova ljudyna* does not have to be *biznesmen.* He can be a clerk/employee, etc. The person can consider himself *dilova ljudyna* without being *biznesmen.* He can be part of somebody's business. One of the subjects defined *biznesmen* as a person, who, in this sphere, the sphere of business, realizes his opportunities. *Dilova ljudyna* is a person who can use his personal qualities and change them in accordance with time demands. These are peculiar business qualities. The same subject pointed out that *dilova ljudyna* is a person who uses his abilities not necessarily with the sole purpose of gaining a profit, but *biznesmen* uses his assets with the purpose of gaining profit from it. One of the subjects mentioned that it is difficult to provide a definition for the term *dilova ljudyna*. *Dilova ljudyna* is a person who deals with any matter, either of a productive or non-productive character. *Biznesmen* works with the main objective of realizing a profit, while with *dilova ljudyna* – not necessarily so, other motives are very important, for example social ones.

The similarities and differences among the meanings of *pidpryjemec,' dilova ljudyna* and *biznesmen*:

The difference from *pidpryjemec'* is that *biznesmen* achieves bigger success, because, as one of the subjects explained, there are such concepts as *malyj biznes* 'small business' and *velykyj biznes* 'big business.' *Malyj pidpryjemec'* 'small entrepreneur' can be also called *biznesmen,* but this is rather rarely used.

One of the subjects emphasized that in Ukrainian business literature there is inclination to consider *biznesmen* as any person who performs economic activity at his own risk, but *biznesmen* is simply a person, who buys and sells. It is considered that *pidpryjemnyctvo* is a more elevated conception, than *biznes*, which is not necessarily a creative activity.

An interesting difference was provided by the other subject regarding the terms *biznesmen* and *pidpryjemec'*: *biznesmen* as being a person who gets money from any source and *pidpryjemec'* is a person, who gets money from his own *sprava* 'undertaking.'

One of the subjects defined *biznesmen* as a person who lives in the West and is engaged in various types of business activity, in particular serious business activity, and *dilova ljudyna* does not necessarily have to be *biznesmen*. The same subject pointed out that *dilova ljudyna* has to be a person who keeps his word, and *biznesmen* has also to be such a person, but in reality it appears that he is not. *Biznesmen* can also exist in Ukraine. In Ukraine there is certain sarcasm regarding this or that person under the term *biznesmen*. Among the Ukrainian population there is an understanding that if we say *biznesmen*, it means that the person deals with a certain undertaking, but this is not necessarily an indicator that he is a successful entrepreneur. The term *biznesmen*, in the main, applies to big business.

Summary and discussion: 14/25 subjects supported the first definition, 6/25 subjects shared the second definition and 5/25 held to the third one.

Considering *biznesmen* as a person involved in a business or commercial activity, there is no unanimous approach of the Ukrainian subjects with respect to its correlation with a) *dilova ljudyna*, b) *pidpryjemec.'* In certain cases *biznesmen* is considered to be a) synonymous with *dilova ljudyna* and *pidpryjemec,'* b) 'broader" than *dilova ljudyna* or *pidpryjemec,'* c) "narrower" than *dilova ljudyna* or *pidpryjemec.'*

The subjects did not express an opinion on the opposition of *dilova ljudyna/pidpryjemec'* but even if they had, it would not do much to clarify the greater picture with these three concepts involved – *biznesmen, dilova ljudyna,* *pidpryjemec.'* Many semantic components can be considered here: state vs. non-state (private) sector, legal/illegal, innovative/traditional, professional/amateur.

The concepts of *pidpryjemec,' biznesmen and pidpryjemnyctvo, biznes* are among the most complicated ones in modern Ukrainian theoretical business discourse and probably even more complicated in real life.

3.2.5. *pidpryjemnyctvo* 'entrepreneurship'

The word is included in OSUM (1994: 521). Havrylyshyn (1993: 78) translates *pidpryjemnyctvo* as enterprise and as entrepreneurship.

Webster (1993: 759) defines entrepreneurship as the condition of being an entrepreneur: the role or function of the entrepreneur: entrepreneurial ability or activity.

There are basically four responses with respect to the definition of the term *pidpryjemnyctvo:*

- Entrepreneurial activity of one kind or another. In *pidpryjemnyctvo* one of the subjects sees the process of conducting specific business undertakings and involvements in entrepreneurial activity.

  If *pidpryjemec'* is a person who has his own undertaking, then *pidpryjemnyctvo* is this business, that is why in the Ukrainian lexicon these two notions of *pidpryjemnyctvo* and *sprava* 'business, undertaking' are intermingled and quite often interchangeable. *Pidpryjemnyctvo* is business, and *biznes* is the undertaking of somebody who works for it, who initiated and supports it and who receives profits from it in order to develop capital to be invested into development of his production.

Pidpryjemnyctvo is the system of management which uses the most effective means from a legal point of view, the ability to manage, it gives the opportunity to develop potential/abilities within the particular economic system. *Pidpryjemnyctvo* can be considered an economic mechanism, effecting structural changes in the economy. *Pidpryjemnyctvo* provides economic growth and the creation of new enterprises. This is a form of business organization, where the entrepreneur directly organizes, provides financing and assumes the risks of the particular activity. This is also a system for the implementation of new ideas, with risky decisions made in development of small and middle sized business.

Pidpryjemnyctvo is the thing that *pidpryjemec'* deals with, asserted one subject. *Pidpryjemnyctvo* is systematic, involves someone's own risk, an independent activity with the purpose of making a profit. According to one of the subjects, there are certain criteria for *pidpryjemnyctvo*: 1) if it is a one-time action, it can not be considered as *pidpryjemnyctvo* (it should be systematic); 2) the goal should be – making a profit (if there is no profit, there is no *pidpryjemnyctvo);* 3) it should be at someone's own risk (if there is a risk with borrowed assets, there is no *pidpryjemnyctvo*). *Pidpryjemnyctvo* can be also defined as a sphere of activity, connected with making extra profit using either existing types of production or new ones.

Pidpryjemnyctvo was defined by one of the subjects as a sector of the economy or a type of economic activity aimed at achieving a certain result. It is revealed in various organizational forms, starting with small, medium and large (one classification) and finishing with franchising.

Pidpryjemnyctvo, as a rule, is official activity, while *biznes* can be unofficial. There is some difference here, mentions the other subject.

- A legal entity involved in either a production or a non-production activity. Certain subjects obviously confused two similar-sounding Ukrainian words (and perhaps the concepts) of *pidpryjemstvo* 'enterprise' and *pidpryjemnyctvo.* One of them said that *pidpryjemstvo* was a subject dealing with the definite activity of a production or a non-production nature.
- A type of economic activity aimed at dealership. One of the subjects considered *pidpryjemnyctvo* an activity aimed at the organization of a dealership.
- One of the definitions was the shortest one: type of activity. Without adding anything, what type of activity, what is the aim of this activity, etc.

Summary and discussion: 20/25 shared the first definition, 2/25 proffered the second one, 2/25 held to the third one and only 1/25 to the fourth one.

Pidpryjemnyctvo is a very complicated concept in the contemporary Ukrainian business lexicon. With the overwhelming majority (20/25) again agreeing that this is some kind of entrepreneurial activity, and only 2 subjects confusing it with *pidpryjemstvo* 'enterprise,' a closer look at the semantic content of the word would reveal a certain level of non-congruence when compared with

Western business practice (like the previously mentioned opposition of *pidpryjemnyctvo* as an official activity and *biznes* as being sometimes unofficial). Insufficient legal support of business in Ukraine hampers its natural development and growth.

3.2.6. *biznes* 'business'

The word is included in OSUM (1994: 47). Močernyj (1995: 24) defines *biznes* – *sprava, zanjattja, pidpryjemnyctvo, ekonomična dijal'nist,' sprjamovani na otrymannja prybutku* 'undertaking, pursuit, entrepreneurship, economic activity, aimed at gaining profit.' Slipuško (1999: 43) presents *biznes* as *ekonomična i pidpryjemnyc'ka dijal'nist,' sprjamovana na oderžannja prybutku; bud'-jakyj vyd pidpryjemnyc'koji dijal'nosti, ščo zabezpečuje doxid čy inšyj zysk* 'economic and entrepreneurial activity, aimed at gaining profit; any type of entrepreneurial activity, that provides profit or any other benefit.' Vaškiv (1993: 19) defines *biznes* as *bud'-jakyj vyd dijal'nosti, ščo prynosyt' prybutok* 'any type of activity that brings profit.' Havrylyshyn (1993: 51) translates *biznes* as business. The word *biznes* is also registered in Tryn'ko (1992: 10).

Webster (1993: 302) defines business as **1 b** (1): a usu. commercial or mercantile activity customarily engaged in as a means of livelihood and typically involving some independence of judgement and power of decision and sometimes contrasted with the arts or professions or sport or other activity considered less practical, serious, respectable, or mundane: OCCUPATION, POSITION, TRADE, LINE (2): a commercial or industrial enterprise (3): a place where such an enterprise is carried on (4): transactions, dealings, or intercourse of any nature, but now esp. economic (as buying and selling) (5): the procedures and techniques of such enterprises.

There are basically two different responses with respect to the definition of *biznes*:

- Any type of commercial, profit-seeking activity. One of the subjects defined *biznes* as entrepreneurial activity connected with the consumption of assets, capital and which by nature must realize a profit.

  One subject provided a very specific definition of *biznes*: making money by any means possible. He was very proud to mention that this is the definition that he provides to his students.

  One of the subjects said that *biznes* has the taste of *rynkovist'* 'market.' He defined *biznes* as *pidpryjemnyctvo* 'entrepreneurship' on a larger scale, an activity directed at obtaining some profit, material benefit or social effect. It embraces more individual sides, non-advertised, non-foreseen by legislation. There is also *tin'ovyj biznes* 'black (shady) business.' This notion of *tin'ovyj biznes* is widespread in Ukraine. *Biznes* was also defined as entrepreneurship connected with production.

  The other definition is that *biznes* is making money, gaining a profit. This is also *vlasna sprava* 'private business,' but this business is not connected with the word *pidpryjemnyctvo*. These can be some small transactions, out of the home, with neighbors. If a person makes money out of nothing, this is also *biznes*. The other subject gave the definition that this is any kind of entrepreneurial activity or simply activity. *Biznes* can be also wheeling-dealing, you buy low and sell high. It does not have to be an actual production activity, it can be executed on a speculative plane. It is difficult to say, mentioned the other one, whether there is certain innovation or not.

One of the subjects said that it was difficult to give a definition of *biznes*. In a classic frame of understanding, this is the art of making a profit.

Biznes is more used on a publicistic level, considers another one.

- *Dilova aktyvnist'* 'business activity' (in general, non-specific). *Biznes* and *pidpryjemnyctvo* are considered to be very similar concepts. At the legislative level in Ukraine, the concept *pidpryjemnyctvo* is used. There iz *Zakon Ukrajiny pro pidpryjemnyctvo* 'Law of Ukraine on Entrepreneurship.' *Biznes* is more transferred from English business concepts. We can talk, added one of the subjects, about small and medium *biznes*, but we can also talk about small and medium *pidpryjemnyctvo*. These terms in Ukraine are often considered as comparable.

Summary and discussion: 23/25 subjects shared the first definition, while only 2/25 shared the second one.

Biznes is a wide ranging concept in the Ukrainian business lexicon. Considered to be a) "broader" and b) "narrower" than *pidpryjemnyctvo* or c) synonymous, the semantic content/meaning of the word is marked by varying degrees of illegality. This component of "illegality" is often self-understood and accepted by the subjects (professors at universities).

There is significant discrepancy between theoretical description of *biznes* and its practical application in Ukraine.

3.2.7. *firma* 'firm, company'

Mel'nyčuk (1974: 710) defines *firma* as 1) *V SRSR nazva dejakyx velykyx vyrobnyčyx ob"jednan.'* 2) *U kapitalistyčnyx krajinax – najmenuvannja hospodars'koho, torhovel'noho čy promyslovoho pidpryjemstva* '1) In the USSR the name of certain big production units. 2) In capitalist countries – it is the name of the economic, trade or manufacturing enterprise.' Močernyj (1995: 350) presents *firma* as *orhanizacija, jaka vede hospodars'ku dijal'nist'* 'an organization that conducts economic activity.' Vaškiv (1993: 158) defines *firma* as *hospodars'ke, promyslove abo torhove pidpryjemstvo, jake korystujet'sja pravamy jurydyčnoji osoby* 'an economic, industrial or trade enterprise, which has rights as a legal entity.' Havrylyshyn (1993: 93) translates *firma* as 'company; firm.'

Webster (1993: 856) defines firm as **a**: the name, title, or style under which a company transacts business: the firm name **b**: a partnership of two or more persons not recognized as a legal person distinct from the members composing it **c**: a business unit or enterprise <the organizational framework within which the Soviet ~ operates>. The same dictionary (Webster 1993: 461) defines company as **a**: a chartered commercial organization (as of merchant adventurers) or a trade guild during the medieval period **b**: an association of persons for carrying on a commercial or industrial enterprise or business (as a partnership or stock company) c: those members of a partnership firm whose names do not appear in the firm name – sometimes used of the remaining members of a group represented by one or more named individuals.

There were basically five different responses regarding the definition of the word *firma*:

- An organization or enterprise dealing with any type of entrepreneurial activity; the type of entrepreneurial activity is not specified. It could be any of the many kinds of such activity. *Firmy* can be created for solving social tasks. They are legally created entities involved in entrepreneurial activity, the goal of which is making a profit. One of the subjects emphasized that neither *firma* nor *pidpryjemstvo* 'enterprise' provide a clear idea what activities these organizational structures could be involved in. This is an organizational-legal form of entrepreneurial activity and the name *firma* gives the evidence that this enterprise is a legal entity that enacts its financial transactions through the banking system. With respect to what kind of activity is conducted by or in the *firma*, the term itself does not provide any answers.

  The enterprise can have a different judicial essence, a different judicial construction, but has a particular business interest. This is some kind of business enterprise. This legal entity owns property, has a license, seal and other attributes for conducting economic activity. This is an organizational unit of business activity. *Firma* is an elementary unit in contrast to corporation, syndicate. This institution can also work towards satisfying other additional goals.

- An organization or enterprise dealing only with industrial production. An organization can not be defined as *firma* if it is non-industrial production. *Firma* is obligatorily connected with producing products, according to the subjects.
- An industrial or business enterprise dealing with a certain type of activity. A structural unit, in which an industrial process or particular financial transactions are ongoing, which are working towards fulfilling the objective of the enterprise, in the production of products, the provision of services, financial or others. It must be a legal entity, have an account in the bank and have other corresponding attributes. *Firma* is the basis of any development, of any economy.
- an office itself
- a label

Summary and discussion: 12/25 subjects share the first definition, 4/25 share the second definition, 4/25 share the third definition, 3/25 share the fourth definition and 2/25 the fifth one.

Being perceived as more of a trendy and catchy word than a legal term in the Ukrainian business lexicon, *firma* can be synonymous with *pidpryjemstvo* (a legally accepted term).

A certain split in the subjects' definitions of this term demonstrates its semantic 'uncertainty' in contemporary Ukrainian business lexicon.

The subjects also provided some comparison of *pidpryjemnyctvo* (plus *pidpryjemstvo*), *biznes* and *firma*:

The notion of making money by any means applies also to *firma* 'firm' in Ukraine, which does not have its separate category. *Firma* is used on an everyday, communal level. The word *biznes* is more likely to be associated with big business.

There is some difference between *pidpryjemnyctvo* and *biznes.* According to one of the instructors, a subject called *Osnovy biznesu* 'Basics of Business' was introduced at their university and later it was replaced by *Osnovy pidpryjemnyctva* 'Basics of Entrepreneurship.' By doing this they considered *biznes* to be a narrower notion. *Biznesmen u nas sčytajet'sja kto uhodno*[5] 'In our society anyone can be considered a businessman,' said this subject (a Russian speaker). *Biznes* is a risky type of activity, according to him. *Pidpryjemnyctvo – umjerjennyj rysk* 'Entrepreneurship has a moderate risk,' continued the same subject. The other subject thought that *pidpryjemnyctvo* was associated not only with the trade, but also with the sphere of production. The difference between *biznes* and *pidpryjemnyctvo*, in his opinion, is that *pidpryjemnyctvo* constitutes a legal means of conducting economy, business activity, and *biznes* can be *tin'ovyj* and *netin'ovyj* 'black and non-black.' The arms trade, drugs trade, prostitution, casino business can all exist under the umbrella of *biznes*; in his understanding, he continued, it can be also other types of business. In Ukraine, he stated, specifically that the word *biznes* has a rather broader spectrum, and, for example, managing some non-profit organizations to one extent or another falls under the category of *biznes.* In Ukraine *biznes* is specifically making money (*roblennja hrošej),* probably implying some kind of illegality.

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[5] suržyk

The subjects indicated a close association of the word *firma* with the Ukrainian term *pidpryjemstvo* 'enterprise.' Three of the subjects specifically indicated the term *pidpryjemstvo* to be broader than the term *firma.* One subject indicated that the term *firma* is broader than the term *pidpryjemstvo.* He stated that *firma* could unite a couple of *pidpryjemstva.*

One of the subjects mentioned that *firma* is used when we talk about collective or private forms of ownership, but when we talk about the state form of ownership, we use the term *pidpryjemstvo.* In Ukrainian legal terminology the term *firma* is not used and the term *pidpryjemstvo* is. *Firma* is mostly used in business literature translated from foreign languages (primarily English).

3.2.8. *rynok* 'market'

Slipuško (1999: 222) defines *rynok* as *sfera tovarnoho obminu, de vynykajut' i realizujut'sja vidnosyny kupivli-prodažu ta zdijsnjujet'sja konkretna hospodars'ka dijal'nist' ščodo prosuvannja tovariv i posluh vid jix vyrobnykiv do spožyvačiv* 'sphere of commodity exchange, where the market activity of purchasing and sale is realized and where specific economic activity is performed with respect to promotion of commodities and services from their producers to consumers.'

Webster (1993: 1383) defines market as **1a** (1): a meeting together of people at a stated time and place for the purpose of traffic (as in cattle, provisions, or wares) by private purchase and sale and usu. not by auction (2): the people assembled at such a meeting (3): the privilege in English law of having a public, market b (1): a public place (as an open space in a town or a large building) where a market is held: MARKETPLACE; specif: a place where provisions are sold at wholesale (2): a retail establishment usu. of a specified kind **2b**: an object of bargaining or dealing c: opportunity for buying or selling – usu. used in the phrases lose one's market or overstand one's market **3a**: the rate or price offered for commodities: MARKET PRICE b: the current bid and asked price for a security or other property **4:** a sphere within which price-making forces operate and in which exchanges tend to be followed by actual movement of goods: as **a**: a geographical area of demand **b**: the course of commercial activity by which the exchange of commodities is effected: condition with respect to demand : extent of demand **c**: a formal organized coming together of buyers and sellers of goods.

Four different groups of responses regarding the definition of *rynok* by the subjects can be distinguished:

- The economic system of relations in which the price of something is decided by buyer-seller demand-supply and in which people in the process of production, distribution, utilization of products, and services participate ("system"). In this specifically organized sphere of economics, the subject and object of market activity are present, and act according to the specific laws inherent to the market. This is the economic space where market activity is conducted. In the market economy, relations between entrepreneurs, the state and consumers are established. This is the interrelation between supply and demand regarding certain commodities or groups of commodities. This is also where commodity-money relations arise between people. *Rynok* is considered to be a self-organized system where exchange takes place. It is the sphere of exchange of commodities and services. *Rynok* can be also considered as the system of economic relations that arise between buyer and seller within the arena of commodity production.

- The physical place where the exchange of commodities occurs, dependent on supply and demand ("place"). This is the interaction of entrepreneurs and consumers in relation to the sale (merchandizing) of products. This is the place where they meet, the place where, in essence, the demand for a certain type of commodities is defined. *Rynky* are where goods are bought and sold – they can be in the open air (and in Ukraine there are many markets of this type). Usually they are held on particular days (mostly week-ends).
- A combination of the two previous definitions, that is the economic system of buying and selling where price is defined by demand and the physical place where these transactions are being conducted. Some subjects emphasized that *rynok* is many-sided phenomenon and can be considered from different points of view. It can be considered as a place where commercial transactions between the buyer and seller take place as well as being the manner of conducting trade. This is the model of the market economy. *Rynok* combines

the relation between buying and selling, defining supply and demand in relation to the availability of certain goods and services and on the other hand it is *bazar* 'market.' This is the system of economic relations that is formed in a society that characterizes the stage of the development of the society and the function of its markets. These relations are formed on the basis of supply and demand. In the mind of the common citizen *rynok* often is used in the sense of *bazar* 'market.' *Bazar* and *rynok* are considered more often than not as interchangeable words. There can be, for example, *rynok sil's'kohospodars'kyx produktiv* 'the agricultural market.' It was defined by one of the subjects as the place where the sale of goods and services takes place, it was also added that it is a self-regulating system in which, due to interaction of the mechanism of demand and supply, it effects the establishment of the market price and defines the amount of sales. This mechanism unites the producer and the buyer/consumer. As one of the subjects initially emphasized, it was considered as the place where the sale is realized, for example, in the Internet, the web-page is the meeting place that unites the producers with the consumers. This way an equilibrium price is established on the basis of demand and supply. *Rynok* establishes this price. On one hand it is the place and on the other hand the mechanism of the realization of created goods or provided services, the sale of everything that entrepreneurs produce in a society is taking place in the *rynok*.

One of the subjects said that *rynok* was defined differently in different times. Once it was considered as a place where the purchase-sale took place, whereas today *rynok* is defined as a broader concept. The subjects stated that there is a broader notion that includes the whole system of trade relations: agreements, deals on purchase or sale, the exchange of information, technologies and knowledge. If one takes a closer look at what market agreements exist now, not so long ago it was difficult to even predict that they might one day appear. Many misunderstandings are connected with this concept, emphasized one of the subjects. One could provide, in his opinion, more than ten definitions, and all of them would be correct. During the time of the planned centralized economy, *rynok*, as we now understand it, did not exist. Real *rynok* was limited to *tin'ova ekonomika* 'the black market,' *kolhospnyj rynok* 'the agricultural market' was officially allowed.

- *rynok* as a synonym to *rynkova ekonomika* 'market economy.' *Rynkova ekonomika* 'the market economy' and *planova ekonomika* 'the planned economy' are two different concepts.

Summary and discussion: 9 subjects support the first definition ("system"), 3 subjects support the second definition ("place"), 9 subjects support a combination of the two and only 1 supports the fourth one. Some subjects failed to provide any definition of the term, or their definitions were incomplete. One of the subjects emphasized that this is a concept that can not be readily understood in Ukraine.

On one hand, being so widely used in contemporary Ukrainian and on the other hand, having a rather vague semantic meaning (content), the term *rynok* is not perceived the same way by business instructors in Ukraine. A similar number of subjects defined *rynok* as a "system' and as a "system" + "place". Market transformations in Ukraine have not elicited results for the majority of people, that is why the attitude towards *rynok* can be understood to contain some irony in certain cases. There is an obvious shift from the simple understanding of *rynok* as only a "place" (the function that *rynok* served during the communist regime) towards more diverse and complicated definition of the term. With improvement of market transformations in Ukraine the explanation (and perception) of *rynok* by Ukrainian subjects will be closer to the Western concept.

3.2.9. *birža* 'stock exchange'

The word *birža* is included in Mel'nyčuk (1974: 100), Tryn'ko (1992: 10-11), Linnikov (1992: 18), Kyjak (1997: 41), Zelens'kyj (1998: 21), Slipuško (1999: 44). Havrylyshyn (1993: 51) translates *birža fondova* as '(stock) exchange.' Močernyj (1995: 24) defines *birža* as *orhanizacijno oformlenyj, postijno dijučyj rynok, na jakomu zdijsnjujut' torhivlju cinnymy paperamy, neruxomistju i hurtovu torhivlju tovaramy* 'organizationally formed, constantly active market, in which the trade of securities, real estate and the wholesale trade of products is being conducted.'

Webster (1993: 2247) defines stock exchange as **1**: a building or room in which security trading is conducted as an organized system – compare EXCHANGE **2**: an association or group of people organized to provide an auction market among themselves for the purchase and sale of securities.

There were basically three different responses to the request for a definition of the word *birža* from the subjects:

- A place or establishment where agreements are concluded relating to certain stock exchange transactions, or relating to finalizing agreements on the sale of certain contracts or goods. Goods can be sold that have not yet been produced, that is the sale of future production. *Rynok* 'market' is a general concept and *birža* is the place where agreements are concluded. There are two main requirements or differences that distinguish *birža* from the common *rynok*: 1) a great quantity and diversity of goods; 2) these products are of standardized nature. *Birža* is one of the elements of the market structure. This is some kind of *rynok rynkiv* 'market of markets' where business people gather to conclude certain trade agreements at the present moment for absent goods, for some kind of replacement of goods. One of the subjects defined *birža* as commodity or currency stock exchange where sale of securities and goods are performed and agreements are concluded for future sale. These transactions are done constantly, without long intervals. *Birža* provides strategic direction for the development of markets and is an indicator of future tendencies. Anyone who can make a 100 hryvnjas contribution can become a member of *Ukrajins'ka universal'na birža* 'Ukrainian Universal Stock Exchange.' One of the subjects defined *birža* as constantly organized wholesale trades of corresponding goods. This is wholesale market with trade of standardized goods.
- A place where products are sold and bought. A market institution serving to create conditions for the meeting of seller and buyer, i.e., the same as *rynok*.

- A place where you can get acquainted with certain demands, requirements, etc., a place where the interests of the entrepreneur can be realized.

Summary and discussion: 15/25 subjects shared the first definition, 5/25 agreed with the second definition, 1/25 held to the third definition. 4/25 did not provide definite answer as to their interpretation of the term.

The term *birža* also created some confusion among the subjects. As one of the subjects stated, they do not have corresponding financial/economic institutions in Ukraine and even those *birži* are somewhat incomparable with a Western institution like the New York Stock Exchange.

3.2.10. *stahnacija* 'stagnation'

The term is present in Mel'nyčuk (1974: 632), defined as *zastij u vyrobnyctvi, torhivli toščo, xarakternyj dlja kapitalistyčnoji ekonomiky* 'stagnation in production, trade, etc., peculiar to a capitalist economy.' It is also defined in Tryn'ko (1992: 58), Vaškiv (1993: 140), OSUM (1994: 722), Kyjak (1997: 190), Slipuško (1999: 243). Močernyj (1995: 308) defines *stahnacija v ekonomici – zastij u vyrobnyctvi, torhivli ta inšyx haluzjax narodnoho hospodarstva* 'stagnation in economy – stagnation in production, trade and other branches of national economy.'

Webster (1993: 2226) defines stagnation as **1:** the state or condition of being stagnant: absence or cessation of movement, growth, or activity **2:** a phase of mature capitalist economic development characterized by a decline in investment opportunities, an overaccumulation of idle savings, and a low level of income and employment.

Three different types of definitions were provided by the subjects:

- Stagnation in economic activity, production. The economy is in a standstill, there is no development, there is no growth. This is special type of "antidevelopment". It is characterized by the change for the worse of the main economic indices in the time of the process. One of the subjects considered a possible associative connection. He felt that stagnation and inflation result in stagflation. Stagnation is non-use of resources, opportunities. It is caused by negative phenomena in the economy or any other systems, in which there is no progress. Stagnation can be also in the movement of assets. Stagnation can be in all spheres of activity, in production, trade or in general. *Stahnacija* can refer to certain branches, a certain firm/company or to a country. One of the subjects considered this to be an uninformative and hence poor term. He felt that since this term is transliterated, it does not show or illustrate anything. Students have simply to memorize it. *Zastij* 'stagnation' is associated with Brezhnev period, but it was most actively used during Gorbachev's perestroika. During stagnation the profits of the workers grow, and labor productivity decreases. This phenomenon is peculiar to developed countries. It has an influence on the budget deficit. *Stahnacija* can be a continuous stagnation in the economy. *Stahnacija* is one of the phases of the cyclic development of economy.

- A certain state of economy, a critical stage. It is more a microeconomic term. A certain period in which economy exists.
- A combination of production and recession with inflation. This is what is normally denoted by the coined term *stahfljacija* 'stagflation.'

One subject did not recognize the term *stahnacija* and hence does not use this term (as he admitted).

Summary and discussion: 22/25 subjects share the first definition, 1/25 shares the second and 1/25 shares the third definition and 1/25 does not provide the definition.

In main the subjects provided the definition of the Ukrainian term *stahnacija*, which is very close to the Western term 'stagnation.'

However, 3 cases out of 25 demonstrated a) non-comprehension of the term, b) confusion with the term *stahfljacija* 'stagflation,' and c) defining it as a critical stage of the economy (what kind?) demonstrate that the term is not understood by some university business professors.

3.2.11. *infljacija* 'inflation'

The word is registered in Mel'nyčuk (1974: 292-293), Linnikov (1992: 46), Vaškiv (1993: 63), OSUM (1994: 290), Močernyj (1995: 151-152), Kyjak (1997: 82), Krouglov (1997: 59), Zelens'kyj (1998: 151). Havrylyshyn (1993: 24) translates inflation as *infljacija*. Slipuško (1999: 113) presents *infljacija* as *znecinennja paperovyx hrošej, ščo suprovodžujet'sja zrostannjam cin na tovary i posluhy* 'depreciation of paper currency, that is accompanied by growth of prices for commodities and services.' Tryn'ko (1992: 29) defines *infljacija* as *znecinennja paperovyx hrošej, jake projavljajet'sja v znyženni jixn'oji kupivel'noji spromožnosti čerez pidvyščennja cin na tovary i posluhy abo tovarnyj deficyt* 'depreciation of paper currency, which is revealed in decrease of purchasing power through growth of prices for goods and services or commodity lack.'

Webster (1993: 1159) presents inflation as an increase in the volume of money and credit relative to available goods resulting in a substantial and continuing rise in the general price level – contrasted with deflation.

There is only one approach to the definition of the word *infljacija*:

- Depreciation of paper currency leading to the growth of prices. It is usually accompanied by the decrease of production. *Infljacija* is calculated in percentages. It is closely connected with devaluation. Inflation is a broader concept. The real value of money is decreasing. One of the subjects mentioned that annual inflation in Ukraine is about 16-17%. During inflation, the amount of goods that are in the market do not correspond to the purchasing power. Depreciation of money is the result of their excessive printing or overfilling of channels of money circulation by excessive currency production. As one of the subjects mentioned, this is a purely economic term, meaning availability of money in the economy which is not supported by a corresponding commodity. Inflation comes as a result of certain economic processes. There are different types of inflation: *pomirna* 'moderate,' *halopujuča* 'galloping' and *hiperinfljacija* 'hyperinflation.' As one of the subjects mentioned, there are two approaches to inflation. From the Marxist point of view this is depreciation of money. From a non-Marxist point of view this is growth of prices. They are actually interconnected. Depreciation of money is caused by monetary factors.

Summary and brief discussion: 25/25 subjects shared this definition.

Having been used for decades (see Mel’nyčuk 1974), the term *infljacija* did not present any challenge for the Ukrainian subjects. They all provided approximately the same definition of this term.

This term is well understood as Ukrainians had some immediate experience with this process.

3.2.12. *deval’vacija* ‘devaluation’

Mel’nyčuk (1974: 191) defines *deval’vacija* as *zakonodavče zmenšennja vmistu (vartosti) hrošovoji odynyci, znyžennja kursu paperovyx hrošej ščodo zolota abo inozemnoji valjuty* ‘legal decrease of the content (value) of the currency unit, decrease of the exchange rate of paper banknotes in relation to gold or foreign currency.’ Vaškiv (1993: 41) presents *deval’vacija* as *oficijne znyžennja kursu nacional’noji valjuty po vidnošennju do inozemnoji valjuty* ‘official decrease of the exchange rate of the national currency in relation to foreign currency.’ Havrylyshyn (1993: 16) translates devaluation as *deval’vacija*. Linnikov (1992: 33) defines *deval’vacija* as *znyžennja kursu nacional’noji abo mižnarodnoji hrošovoji odynyci ščodo valjut inšyx krajin. Deval’vacija – naslidok znecinennja valjut u rezul’tati infljaciji, deficytu deržavnoho bjudžetu, velyčeznyx vytrat na* *ozbrojennja toščo* 'decrease of the exchange rate of the national or international monetary (currency) unit relative to the currencies of other countries. Devaluation is the result of depreciation of currencies as a result of inflation, deficit of the state budget, huge expenses for arms races, etc..' The word is present in Tryn'ko (1992: 22), OSUM (1994: 172). Krouglov (1997: 39) presents devaluation as *deval'vacija; znecinennja* 'devaluation; depreciation; devaluation of national currency – *deval'vacija nacional'noji valjuty.*

Webster (1993: 618) defines devaluation as **1:** an official reduction in the exchange value of a currency by a lowering of its gold equivalency **2:** a lessening esp. of status or stature: a reduction or minimizing esp. of importance: DECLINE.

Basically there are two different responses relative to the definition of *deval'vacija:*

- The rate decrease of the national or international currency unit relative to currencies of other countries. The purchasing ability of the currency is diminished. There is a simultaneous decrease in the real value of money. A decrease in the valuation of a currency can depend on certain objective or subjective factors. The state makes the decision regarding the decrease of the amount of a valuable metal (gold or silver) relative to their currency unit. *Deval'vacija* is closely connected with inflation. The situation is created when there is not an adequate correlation between money and commodity reserves of a country.

- The change of the value of the monetary unit. The subject did not indicate in what direction this change of the value would necessarily be moving (up or down).

Summary and brief discussion: The overwhelming majority of 24/25 subjects supported the first definition, while only 1/25 provided the second definition.

There was no problem for all but one of the subjects with the definition of *deval'vacija*. The common definition of the term represents a rare case (similar to *infljacija*) where the subjects shared the same understanding of the term.

It is actually identical to the usage in Western business practice.

3.2.13. *konkurencija* 'competition'

The word is presented in Linnikov (1992: 50), Tryn'ko (1992: 32), Vaškiv (1993: 74), Havrylyshyn (1993: 68), *konkurencija* – competition, OSUM (1994: 320), Močernyj (1995: 164-165), Kyjak (1997: 96), Krouglov (1997: 26), as competition – 1) *konkurencija* 2) *zmahannja*, Zelens'kyj (1998: 178). Mel'nyčuk (1974: 352) defines *konkurencija* as *borot'ba miž pryvatnymy tovarovyrobnykamy za vyhidniši umovy vyrobnyctva j zbutu tovariv* 'a contest between private commodity producers for more favorable conditions of production and goods sale.' Slipuško (1999: 126-127) presents *konkurencija* as *zumovlena riznymy formamy vlasnosti na zasoby vyrobnyctva borot'ba miž pidpryjemcjamy, tovarovyrobnykamy za džerela syrovyny, rynky zbutu i sfery vykorystannja kapitalu z metoju oderžannja najbil'šoho prybutku* 'a contest, caused by different forms of ownership of the means of production, between entrepreneurs, commodity producers for the sources of raw materials, markets for sale and spheres for the use of capital with the purpose of realizing the biggest profit.'

Webster (1993: 464) defines competition as a market condition in which a large number of independent buyers and sellers compete for identical commodities, deal freely with each other, and retain the right of entry and exit from the market.

There are basically three different approaches with reference to the definition of the word *konkurencija*:

- The competition of business units working in the same sphere of business activity for a certain market segment. This is the contest within the framework of law for the consumer among enterprises which offer services. This is the market competition for specific consumers within certain market niche with the purpose of gaining better profits. *Konkurencija* is the driving force without which the market economy could not exist. In the former Soviet Union, mentioned one of the subjects, there was no *konkurencija*, because there was only one form of ownership. There was only *zmahannja* 'contest.' Various forms of ownership are necessary for *konkurencija,* like state ownership, collective, and others. The development of society is impossible without *konkurencija.* This kind of competition has its own positive and negative consequences. There are more positive than negative sides because *konkurencija* forces enterprises, companies and all people who are involved in it to do their best to better satisfy consumers' needs. People competing in the market want to have better conditions for themselves. Being the driving force for progress, *konkurencija* also leads to ruining certain types of business or business relationships, it can lead to the bankruptcy of non-competitive enterprises, but on the other hand it is the mechanism which propels production in the continual drive toward improvement. According to one subject, *konkurencija* is a fight for survival, a fight for a place under the sun. It is also the arena of the struggle for larger profits, for a bigger share of the market, and the quest for the consumer. This is the competition for spheres of influence, for markets and sales. This is also the establishment of business and market advantages for one company over another or one kind of product over the other. This competitiveness leads to the increase of quality in production; while at the same time driving prices down and, in the end, the consumers benefit from this *konkurencija*. Under monopoly conditions, one or only a few producers can effectively dictate the sale price of some good or commodity. *Konkurencija* has "responsibility" at its roots because the producer puts at risk his image, money and sometimes other things as well. A different company can have different interests at a given stage in its overall life. The term *konkurencija* during the communist regime was closely associated with the market economy, it was not connected with any positive qualities, because all of the supposed evils imaginable in society were attached to *konkurencija,* such as bankruptcy, and the other spectres of personal or financial difficulty were deemed to be its fruits. The adjective *žorstokyj* 'cruel' was always attached to the word *konkurencija,* the whole word combination meaning 'cut-throat competition.' On the contrary, *socialistyčne zmahannja* 'socialist competition,' was always described as having a positive connotation.

- *Zmahannja* 'competition' with the objective of gaining pre-eminence in any economic sphere.
- A form of organization of market activity. This being the very mechanism of market activity without which the market is impossible. The state has to exert control over *konkurencija* by legislation, policy and other methods.

Summary and discussion: 21/25 subjects shared the first definition, 3/25 held to the second one and 1/25 asserted the third interpretation.

The subjects provided distinct definitions of the term *konkurencija,* though there is still an association of this term with the previously used *zmahannja* (as identified in the second definition) and sometimes a slightly negative connotation (previously attached by communist mass media to the term *konkurencija* in the capitalist society).

There is a universal understanding that *konkurencija* is one of the driving forces of the market economy.

This term (actually, the way the subjects understand it) to some extent departs from Webster's definition, where "identical commodities" are stressed.

As was emphasized by the subjects, this is also the establishment of business and market advantages for one company over another or one kind of product over the other. *Konkurencija* in Ukraine, contrary to the West, can be conducted in unequal conditions: some companies (closer to the government, to the President, those owned by MPs or their cronies), for example, were exempt from customs tax, importing and exporting products (like cigarettes, vodka) to and from Ukraine, some companies are constantly "punished" by audits and being penalized by so-called *Deržavna podatkova inspekcija* 'State Tax Inspection.' Some companies could get low interest credit and others would not.

Under the Ukrainian conditions there is more competition for producers and sellers than buyers.

The Ukrainian term *konkurencija* acquires to some extent different meaning with all its Ukrainian "specifics" and connotations.

3.2.14. *marketynh* 'marketing'

Mel'nyčuk (1974: 413) defines *marketynh – orhanizacija zbutu tovariv na zovnišnjomu rynku* 'marketing – organization for sales of goods on an external market.' OSUM (1994: 362) includes *marketynh, -u; marketynhovyj* 'marketing, of marketing (adj.).'

Webster (1993: 1383) defines marketing as **1a**: the act of selling or purchasing in a market **b**: the bringing or sending of goods to market **2a**: produce for the market **b**: things purchased at a market **3**: an aggregate of functions involved in transferring title and in moving goods from producer to consumer including among others buying, selling, storing, transporting, standardizing, financing, risk bearing and supplying market information.

There are basically two different responses regarding the definition of the term *marketynh*:

- *Rynkoznavstvo* 'Research and knowledge of the market.' One of the subjects defined *marketynh* as a type of activity aimed at research on the market, demand and disposition, taking into account all these factors. After research on the market this information has to be introduced in the enterprise for a more effective use of its resources, for a more rational use of its labor force. The other presented *marketynh* as a system of rules, techniques and practical policy aimed at research on and conquest of the market. Another variant: a type of activity, the strategy of management and the development of direction for the activity of the enterprise under the prevailing market conditions. It is one of many profiles, includes also the planning of the enterprise's activity, the conception and formulation of its business plan. If one is to give a broader definition of *marketynh*, then it is a complex set of measures which allows the organization of production and sale of commodities in such a way that would address all functional aspects: the improvement of product, of price policy, and of communications and product distribution, all in order to allow a product to more quickly pass from producer to consumer and to satisfy all needs of the consumer. This is a complex definition of *marketynh*. *Marketynh* means not to sell what is produced but to produce things that can be sold.

The simplest definition of *marketynh*, mentioned another subject, could be identifying it as an activity aimed at satisfaction of consumer needs through the exchange. More complex definitions explain how this is actually being conducted. In Ukraine *marketynh* found its niche and is considerably different from what is called *zbut* 'sales' or *prodaž* 'sale.' *Zbut* or *prodaž* is the last (final) stage of *marketynh*. *Marketynh* starts with defining needs, identifying what people want, then how to produce it, how to minimize expenses and how to organize the stimulation of desire for and the distribution of products.

Marketynh can be defined as the science or art of delivering a product to the market, as well as the creation of this product according to the demands of the customers.

Another subject differentiates between *marketynh* as a science and as an activity. As a science it is *rynkoznavstvo*. As an activity it is connected with the distribution and sale of products. The other definition was as a system of service, a system of market study and the tracking of tendencies of change, a system for the study of demand, a system involving the study of the consumption of goods already produced and also creation of a new assortment, that are not available to potential buyers. Previously there was nothing to compel a study of market activities. Academically there has been a long term need to investigate the market, to thoroughly study the situation in order to properly apprehend the practicalities of distribution and sale, etc. According to the subjects, under the planned economy there was no real need to study it deeply and thoroughly. New conditions drastically changed this situation, and now in this time, market study is eminently sensible.

This is a science about the organization of all sides of a business activity, the science concerned with the promotion of goods moving from producer to consumer. *Marketynh* is the science of what product to produce, of what quality, price and of knowing when to sell it. *Marketynh* deals with all this. *Marketynh* is considered the activity of promoting a product to its market. It is necessary to define what the opportunities are for the distribution and sale of this product.

Another instructor suggested there are more than one thousand definitions of marketing in the world.

- *Zbut* 'Sales.' One of the subjects emphasized that the concept of *marketynh* has about 300 definitions. The short definition of *marketynh* is that it is the new philosophy of sales, how better to sell a product. From the point of view of one subject, this is the ability to sell what was produced.

  For many of another informant's acquaintances *marketynh* is associated with sales. Previously they did not have departments of *marketynh* at any enterprises, but there were departments of *zbut* 'sales,' which dealt with the sales of production, produced by the enterprise. Now all these departments have been renamed departments of *marketynh* and in principle *marketynh* means the use of scientific approaches to the same sales (*zbut*), distribution of products and when all this is being studied and researched then it is *marketynh*. They did not have such Ukrainian term.

Summary and discussion: 21/25 subjects supported the first definition and 4/25 subjects shared the second one. The majority of the subjects pronounced *marketynh* with the stress on the first syllable, some on the second, and only a few as *marketyng* (the form provided in Krouglov 1997: 68).

For the most part *marketynh* is perceived in Ukraine as research and knowledge of the market rather than simple *zbut* 'sales,' as demonstrated by the result of the experiments. Western sources (Webster 1993, in particular) put less emphasis on the research component of marketing.

The word *marketynh,* on the contrary, shifted more to research and knowledge of the market in Ukrainian conditions. It acquired the theoretical rather than the applied aspect. *Marketynh* as a subject was offered at the universities. *Marketynh* was taught at some economic universities in the early 1990s, being absent in real life in Ukraine. I remember some frustrated students at our economic university in Ternopil' (1992-93) who were unable to understand (as they said) the German model of marketing (this course was first taught based on the translated literature from German by the Ukrainian professors who had some training in Germany, with all the examples provided exclusively from the German economy).

3.2.15. *podatok* 'tax'

OSUM (1994: 543) registers *podatok, -tku.* Močernyj (1995: 253) presents *podatky* as *obov"jazkovi plateži v bjudžet, jaki zdijsnjujut' fizyčni ta jurydyčni osoby* 'obligatory contributions to the budget consumed by the physical and legal entities.' Vaškiv (1993: 114): *podatok – obov"jazkovyj zbir, jakyj vstanovljujet'sja deržavoju i splačujet'sja pidpryjemstvamy, ustanovamy i naselennjam* 'a tax that is the obligatory collection (levy), that is determined by the state and is paid by all enterprises, establishments and persons.' Havrylyshyn (1993: 79) translates *podatok* as duty, tax.

Webster (1993: 2345) defines tax as **1a** (1): a usu. pecuniary charge imposed by legislative or other public authority upon persons or property for public purposes: a forced contribution of wealth to meet the public needs of a government (2) DIRECT TAX (3) Brit: a levy (as on income) paid to the national government **b**: a sum levied on the members of an organization to defray its expenses.

There were basically three different approaches to the definition of the term *podatok*:

- A compulsory payment collected from individuals or companies by central or local government. One of the subjects defined *podatok* as a certain type of payment, determined, as a rule, by the state for using something. It is one of the sources of revenue for the state budget. Another described *podatok* as a financial obligation of physical and legal entities to the state. One of the definitions was that this is part of the whole of the obligatory payments, which are performed for the benefit of the state, local, municipal or other governing bodies. An interesting definition was that this represents a certain amount of contribution (legalized in acts) and it is also the system of mutual relations between the entrepreneur and the state or between a certain person and the state.

One of the definitions was that *podatok* is a monetary contribution or monetary payment to the official structures or to the state budget or local budget from any type of activity. It can be also be connected to legal, economic functionalities. Some of the definitions are either more complex (in reference to the amount of monetary relations that arise between state, physical or legal entity in connection with repatriation of a part of the value of the gross national product, creation of the centralized state fund) or narrower (payment of a certain percentage for the activity of enterprise or other physical and legal entities).

One of the subjects said that *podatok* can take either a monetary or "physical" expression. This is the sum paid from profits or from property sale in order to support functioning of a state, city or region.

- An instrument of the monetary policy of the state.
- The state's profit at the expense of the ordinary citizen and entrepreneur, this is also be redistributed as a benefit.

Summary and discussion: 23/25 subjects were in favor of the first definition, 1/25 subject supported the second and 1/25 of the subjects the third one.

The term *podatok* is well understood by business instructors. The result of the experiment proves this statement. There is no significant discrepancy between Western concept of 'tax' and its Ukrainian equivalent *podatok*.

The taxation system in Ukraine is different than that of Western countries. At present Ukraine continues to undergo revisions to its taxation policy in trying to adjust it to the Western norms and principles and easing the burden of taxation with the purpose of encouraging economic development.

3.2.16. *audyt* 'audit,' *audytor (revizor)* 'auditor'

The word *audytor* is included in OSUM (1994: 29), but the word *audyt* is absent. Mel'nyčuk (1974: 78) presents an absolutely different meaning of *audytor* than the one accepted nowadays: *učen,' jakoho pryznačav učytel' dlja vysluxuvannja inšyx učniv* 'a pupil who is appointed by a teacher to listen to other pupils.' Havrylyshyn (1993: 50) translates *audytor* as public accountant, but the word *audyt* is absent. In the English section of the same dictionary (Havrylyshyn 1993: 8) audit is translated as *analiz hospodars'koji dijal'nosti* 'analysis of the economic activity'; *audytors'ka perevirka* 'auditor revision (control)'; *perevirka finansovyx operacij* 'verification of financial transactions,' and the word auditor (1993: 8) is translated as *revizor*. Approximately the same definition is provided in Krouglov (1997: 11): audit – 1) *perevirka zvitnosty* 'verification of reporting'; 2) *revizija* 'revision'; 3) *audytors'kyj kontrol'* 'auditor's control.' Auditor (1993: 11) is presented as *audytor* 'auditor,' *revizor* 'auditor,' *buxhalter-revizor* 'accountant auditor,' *finansovyj kontroler* 'financial controller.' The word *audytor* is present in Kyjak (1997: 34), but *audyt* and *revizor* are not. *Audyt* and *audytor* are present in Slipuško (1999: 34) as well as in Tryn'ko (1992: 8). Explaining the meaning of the word *audytor,* Vaškiv (1993: 14) remarks: *V funkciji audytora vxodyt' ne til'ky kontrol,' ale i konsul'taciji* 'Auditor's functions include not only control, but consultations.'

Webster (1993: 143) defines audit as **1a**: a formal or official examination and verification of books of account (as for reporting on the financial condition of a business at a given period) **b**: a methodical examination and review of a situation or condition (as within a business enterprise) concluding with a detailed report of findings: a rendering and settling of accounts **2:** the final report following a formal examination of books of account : final statement of account. The same dictionary (Webster 1993: 143) defines auditor as **a:** one that audits **b:** one authorized to examine and verify accounts **c:** one skilled in the technique of auditing.

Essentially there are two different interpretations of the pair *audytor vs. revizor* with the explanation of the term *audyt*:

- *Audyt* – an independent evaluation of the financial state of enterprises, review of the economic activity of the enterprise. *Audytor* – the person who performs this activity, not only for the purpose of ensuring control, but more in order to have a consultative purpose aimed at the improvement of the enterprise's performance. *Revizor* is the person who performs only control and punitive functions, consultancy is excluded from his activity.

The subjects explained that the term *revizor* was used previously, and *revizory* checked only the financial state, to determine whether there was misuse of funds. *Audytor* is more associated with private ownership, i.e., the non-state sector of economy. *Revizor* is a concept closely connected with state sector finances. *Revizor* defines the position of a person who is responsible for reviewing the use of state funds. *Audytor* deals not only with control, but adds an advisory capacity and the elements of consultation to the overall breadth of its activity. This concept is broader than that of *revizor*.

Audytor deals with voluntarily conducted review, *revizor* is by nature obligatorily appointed. *Revizor* is a state employee, while *audytor* is *firmač*, works in the private structure. One of the subjects mentioned that he first used the terms *audytor* and *audyt* in 1992, when they implemented a new curriculum for the specialty *Buxhalters'kyj oblik i audyt* 'Accounting and audit.' Approximately the same year people started to talk about *audytors'ki kontory* 'auditing offices.'

The results of the audit can be used by companies as well as by banks to gain a more complete understanding of their real financial situation: availability of funds for accounts payable, the solvency of the enterprise, etc. *Revizor* is a narrower concept. *Audyt* corresponds more to the market economy, because *revizor* was used during the time of the command-administrative system, it was simply a revision of the activity of enterprise, it was used for internal needs or as a foundation for punitive measures. *Audyt* is an independent verification by independent experts in order to give an objective evaluation of the financial state of an enterprise. An auditor's verification is more valuable and auditor carries responsibility for the incorrectness or incompleteness of review's findings if later they are to be compared to the real financial state of the firm. *Revizor* is a controller only, mentioned one of the subjects. *Revizor* performs his control functions as directed to do so by a higher authority and the purpose of forensic review is to discover any violations of the law in the operation of the enterprise.

Revizor in Ukraine is more connected with the concept *podatkovyj inspektor* 'tax inspector,' *KRU (Kontrol'no-revizijne upravlinnja)* 'Control and Verification Department.' *Audytor* tries to reveal the reserves of production and reserves of correctness of paying taxes. *Audytor* performs reviews of any sphere of economic activity of the enterprise. *Revizor* is a person who comes to collect fines. He is sent by the authorities to undercover wrongdoing. The task of the auditor is to correct faults. *Audyt* is the science of optimization of the indices of the financial structure, statutory capital of the company and its transactions. *Audytor* deals with the verification of the enterprise activity with the purpose of revealing possible problems, possible mistakes and indicating ways of overcoming these problems. *Audyt* deals also with defining positive sides of the work of the company. Recently *audytor* has become a very prestigious profession in Ukraine. One of the subjects in the experiment mentioned that there is a negative attitude toward the term *revizor*.

- The terms *audyt* and *revizija*, *audytor* and *revizor* mean exactly the same, there is no difference among words in these two pairs. *Audytor,* as *revizor,* deals with the review of the financial documents of the organization with the purpose of revealing violations. *Audyt* is the control or verification of the financial documentation of the organization with the purpose of revealing certain shortcomings in the activity of this organization. One of the subjects considers that there is a certain tendency to use the words *audyt* and *audytor*, because they are fashionable, being of foreign origin, though *revizor* is also foreign (but its foreignness is already forgotten). These foreign words sound more pleasant, because more often than not people do not understand them, considered the same subject. The terms *revizor* and *revizija* have certain Soviet connotation.

Summary and discussion: 18/25 make a semantic distinction between *audytor* and *revizor*, while 7/25 do not. *Audyt* is perceived by majority of the subjects (14/25) as different from previously used *revizija.*

The newly borrowed terms *audytor* and *audyt* show significantly expanded semantic content when compared with *revizor* and *revizija*, which were used during the planned economy, shifting the focus from controlling and punitive functions to consultative and advisory ones. A minority of the subjects consider *audytor/revizor*, *audyt/revizija* as being identical. There is still some uncertainty because *revizor,* and to a lesser extent *revizija*, remain as part of the contemporary Ukrainian business lexicon; the position of *revizor* did not disappear and has had to undergo certain transformations to meet the demands of the time (it is now closer to *audytor*, consultative and advisory functions).

It is also interesting to note that Ukrainian subjects added the 'consultation' component to their definition, which is different from Webster (1993). Webster does not single out the component of 'consultation' in his definition. Ironically enough, his definition of *audytor* is closer to the Ukrainian *revizor*.

3.2.17. *nou-xau* 'know-how'

The word *nou-xau* is not in OSUM (1994), but is present in Mel'nyčuk (1974: 472). Močernyj (1995: 233) defines this word combination as (*vid anhl.* know-how – *znaju jak*) – *sukupnist' texničnyx znan' vyrobnyčoho, komercijnoho ta inšoho dosvidu, neobxidnoho dlja vyhotovlennja jakoho-nebud' vyrobu, vidtvorennja vyrobnyčoho procesu i t.d.* '(from the English know-how) – the combination of technical knowledge of production, commercial and other experience, necessary for producing any product, reproduction of the production process, etc..' The definition of *nou-xau* is present in Vaškiv (1993: 100), Kyjak (1997: 128-129), Slipuško (1999: 164). Havrylyshyn (1993: 74) translates *nou-xau* as know-how, but in the English section (1993: 25) translates know-how as *nou-xau; praktyčni znannja* 'practical knowledge.' Krouglov (1997: 62) translates know-how as *nou-xau* n know-how put into practice – *nou-xau, zastosovuvane na praktyci.*

Webster (1993: 1252) defines know-how as practical knowledge of how to do or accomplish something with smoothness and efficiency: ability to get something done with a minimum of wasted effort : accumulated practical skill or expertness <business know-how> <needed the know-how of a good carpenter> <salesmanship know-how> <the know-how involved in producing a play> <developed his bowling know-how>; esp : technical knowledge, ability, skill, or expertness of this sort <the company needed to use all its ingenuity and know-how to succeed in laying the oil lines>.

In the main, two different responses were demonstrated relative to the definition of *nou-xau*:

- An innovation or discovery in science or practice which allows the possibility of a new level of production for certain goods or the development of an improved technology, or the creation of an entirely new process which would allow an increase in labor productivity or an increase in the volume of production to a new level. These new methods and technologies are different from those widely known, though there are different nuances of the one general idea. *Nou-xau* can be the application of certain methods and or methodologies which are used in scientific and technological progress and which effectively decrease the consumption of materials and other resources. *Nou-xau* is an innovation which is somehow "protected" and is connected with efficiency. Correspondingly it can be a secret, the knowledge of which allows the use of certain technological processes. These innovations have the right to be sold. These are innovations that allow new products or services to go to market. *Nou-xau* is a secret that is owned by certain person or even a company regarding the implementation of certain activities which an ordinary person would be incapable of doing without its knowledge. *Nou-xau* represents discoveries that can not be patented. The phrase *nou-xau,* according to several subjects, is widespread and "does not require further explanation". *Nou-xau* can be one of the components of a competitive advantage. One of the subjects mentioned that he writes *nou-xau* only in English. Transliteration should be slightly different – *nou-hau,* but not *nou-*

xau. *Nou-xau* can be national or even be held within the limits of a department (curricula in the Internet, for example). *Nou-xau* can be an innovation that is based on new and changing technologies.

- It is simply technical knowledge, and not innovation. For one person it can be an innovation (something new) and for the other person – not. In the US or Canada, for example, this knowledge is not new, but when this equipment is sent to Africa – it will be considered an innovation by the local people.

Summary and discussion: 23/25 subjects support the first definition, while only 2/25 support the second one.

Also being used for an extensive period of time (as already demonstrated in Mel'nyčuk 1974), *nou-xau* was not difficult to explain by the subjects. Mainly it corresponds to the Western concept of know-how. The 'secret' part is however very interesting, because Webster puts more emphasis on skills/efficiency.

According to the subjects, some of their students experience difficulties with understanding this term.

3.2.18. *pablik rilejšnz* 'public relations'

The word combination *pablik rilejšnz* is not in Mel'nyčuk (1974), OSUM (1994), Močernyj (1995). But it is present in Tryn'ko (1992: 44), written as *pablik rilejšiz*, and defined as *prestyžna reklama, vstanovlennja zv"jazkiv z hromads'kistju* 'prestigious advertising, establishing relations with the public,' Vaškiv (1993:108), written as *pablik rylejšnz*, Slipuško (1999: 172), written as *pablik rilejšen*.

Webster (1993: 1836) defines public relations as **1**: the promotion of rapport and goodwill between a person, firm, or institution and other persons, special publics, or the community at large through the distribution of interpretative material, the development of neighborly interchange, and the assessment of public reaction **2 a:** the degree of understanding and goodwill achieved between an individual, organization, or institution and the public **b:** application of the techniques for achieving this relationship **3 a:** the art or science of developing reciprocal understanding and goodwill **b:** the professional staff entrusted with this task.

There are six different or partially different approaches relative to the definition of *pablik rilejšnz*:

- A relation with the public through communication, the art of creating a positive image of the company or of a person for public consumption. This consists of a complex set of measures aimed at the formation of this desired image. It is also the process of shaping the public's opinion through mass media. This concept also includes the popularization of products, defining consumers' opinion regarding certain products that can be conducted through questionnaires, forms, through the press, via exhibitions etc. It is connected with advertising. *Pablik rilejšnz* can be done through the company itself, through the marketing division of the enterprise. Through *pablik rilejšnz* an enterprise can raise its image in the market, within the country or abroad. The enterprise uses different means in developing its *pablik rilejšnz*, and sponsoring is just one of them. In raising its image, as one of the subjects mentioned, the company sometimes hides certain *tin'ovi faktory* 'shady factors' that exist in their entrepreneurial activity. *Pablik rilejšnz* is a purely Western term, an Americanism. Some of the subjects mentioned that, from their point of view, *zv"jazky z hromads'kistju* is not inferior to and perhaps even superior to *pablik rilejšnz*. In the pure English expression, it corresponds to the Ukrainian *formuvannja hromads'koji dumky* 'formation of public opinion.' This expression is connected with the company's niche market research and its main consumers and its distributors. *Pablik rilejšnz* is aimed at supporting the reputation of the company. The buyer, it is expected, will not buy the product, if he does not know the company.

One of the subjects mentioned that translating from the Western sources Ukrainian translators quite often consider *pablik rilejšnz* as *propahanda* 'propaganda' (a view that was not shared by any of the subjects). She remarked that in *Osnovy marketynhu* 'Basics of Marketing' by Kotler (1993) this word combination is translated as *propahanda* (and only in brackets is the English 'public relations' provided); from her perspective, this was a mistake.

- The application of mass media for a definite purpose
- The relation of the enterprise with the external environment
- Any relations
- The relations of the enterprise, institution or organization with mass media
- The management of people, ability to communicate with people, ability to negotiate with the public, etc.

Two subjects did not provide definitions and one of them mentioned that he heard this word for the first time.

Summary and discussion: 18/25 subjects share the first definition, 1/25 supported the second definition, 1/25 shared the third definition, 1/25 supported the fourth definition, 1/25 shared the fifth definition and 1/25 held to the sixth definition.

Though the majority of the subjects understand the term, 7/25 subjects had either a) a slightly different, b) different, or c) no understanding of the term at all. Its foreign origin and rather recent borrowing (with no previous history of circulation in Ukraine) led to some misunderstanding of the term by the instructors in the experiment.

3.2.19. *sponsor (mecenat)* 'sponsor'

The words *mecenat* (as well as *mecenatstvo* 'sponsorship,' *mecenatka* 'female sponsor,' *mecenats'kyj* 'sponsor, adj.) and *sponsor* (as well as *sponsorovyj*, adj., *sponsorstvo* 'sponsorship') are present in OSUM (1994: 370, 719). *Mecenat* is present in Mel'nyčuk (1974: 431): *perenosno – bahatyj pokrovytel' nauk i mystectv* 'figurative meaning – a rich patron of sciences and arts.' The word *sponsor* is not in Mel'nyčuk (1974), but present in Vaškiv (1993: 140): *orhanizacija, firma, pryvatna osoba, ščo finansuje bud'-jakyj zaxid bezvidplatno abo častkovo bezvidplatno* 'organization, company or a private person, who finances any activity free of charge or partially free of charge' and Kyjak (1997: 185-186).

Webster (1993: 2204) defines sponsor as 2: one who without request intervenes on behalf of another **4**: one who assumes responsibility for some other person or thing: as **a**: one who presents and supports a legislative proposal **b**: an experienced salesclerk or salesperson who instructs and supervises new sales staff **c**: a teacher acting as adviser to a specified student activity **d**: one who assumes responsibility for a paroled delinquent **5a**: a corporation that organizes and usually manages the distribution of the shares of an open-ended investment trust **b**: an investment banker who underwrites and distributes a security issue **6**: a business firm or a person who pays a broadcaster and the performer for a radio or television program that is not in itself commercial with the understanding that a limited portion of the broadcast time allotted is devoted to advertising a commercial product.

There are basically two different definitions which were used with reference to the pair *sponsor/mecenat*:

- *Mecenat* and *sponsor:* a person or any legal entity that is involved in charitable activity providing his or its financial support for free, the difference being that *sponsor* is pursuing some benefit in the form of advertising or some financial benefits from it in the future, while *mecenat* acts absolutely without regard for gain, without any further considerations. *Mecenat* is a person who supports arts, culture and he does not need any advertising. *Sponsor* pursues some business interest, though it is not revealed in the form of a direct or an immediate profit. *Mecenat* might help any phenomenon, education, culture, reproduction of cultural traditions or environmental protection effort. *Sponsor* supports programs that envision some future profit. *Mecenat* can support the fulfilment of intellectual development, or of spiritual/religious values. *Sponsor* as *mecenat* can also support arts and science. *Mecenat* can materially support his fellow countrymen, a school, a university, or revive a church. *Mecenat* supports the spiritual state of a society. *Sponsorstvo* 'sponsorship' means investing certain assets into commercial, investment, intellectual activity with the aim of gaining an eventual profit. *Sponsor* is a Western term. *Mecenat* conferred a more noble mission than that of *sponsor*, considered one of the subjects. *Mecenat* can prefer to be unrecognized and unknown. *Sponsor* in every eventuality wants the firm name associated with every cause supported. Both words are of Latin origin, but the word *mecenat* is considered higher in style. It is used more in certain categories (like the arts). *Sponsor* is much more often used, according to one of the subjects. *Mecenatstvo* is an old tradition in Ukraine. One of the subjects even mentioned that *sponsor* in some instances does not use his own money, but *mecenat* always uses his own money.

- *Mecenat* and *sponsor* mean the same, i.e., a person or legal entity who voluntarily and free of charge gives money for some charitable purposes.

As one of the subjects thought, maybe *mecenat* is *zavual'ovanyj sponsor* 'covert sponsor.' The difference is only that *mecenat* was used previously and *sponsor* is a new one. There is no difference in meaning, neither *mecenat/sponsor* has as an objective gaining profit or the returning of assets.

One of the subjects mentioned that the terms mean exactly the same but *mecenat* loves this activity (of donation).

* there was also an additional idea expressed that *mecenat* is, more often than not, identified as a giver of one-time only support, and that *sponsor* would probably be a long-time supporter. The same subject remarked that *sponsor* is an old word, and *mecenat* – much newer. The estimation given was that 4-5 years ago the word *mecenat* was not used, only *sponsor* was known.

Summary and discussion: 15/25 made a semantic distinction between the words *sponsor* and *mecenat*, while 7/25 made no semantic distinction between them. 2/25 subjects did not understand the meaning of the word *mecenat*.

There was an adequate understanding of the borrowed term *sponsor* among the subjects. To what extent advertizing and future profit from it is incorporated in the semantic meaning of both terms is often unclear.

3.2.20. ***f”jučersy*** **‘futures’**

The word is not in OSUM (1994), Močernyj (1995), Kyjak (1997). Vaškiv (1993: 161-162) records *f”jučersni operaciji* as ‘futures transactions,’ and *f”jučersna operacija* as ‘futures transaction.’ Slipuško (1999: 270) presents *f”jučers finansovyj – dovhočasova strokova biržova uhoda, pov”jazana z kupivleju ta prodažem valjuty, cinnyx paperiv* ‘financial futures – a long term stock-exchange agreement, connected with purchase and sale of currency, securities.’ Tryn’ko (1992: 65) lists *f”jučersna uhoda* ‘futures agreement,’ but *f”jučers’kyj rynok* ‘futures market.’ Havrylyshyn (1993: 21) translates futures market as *rynok z* *tryvalym strokom postavok; rynok f'jučers* 'a market based on long term deliveries; a futures market,' Zelens'kyj (1998: 501) *f'jučerzna uhoda, operacija* 'futures agreement, transaction.' Krouglov (1997: 53) translates futures as *f'jučersni uhody* 'futures agreements.'

Webster (1993: 926) defines future as **3a**: a stock or commodity bought and sold for delivery at a future time – usu. used in pl. (speculated heavily in soybean ~s) **b**: a contract for the purchase or sale of something to be delivered at a definite future time and at a specified price.

There are basically two different approaches relative to the definition of the term *f'jučersy*:

- A contract that requires delivery of certain goods at a specified price on a specified date in the future. These are long-term contracts and they give the rights to the purchase/sale of specific products or commodities. These agreements are signed at stock or commodity-exchanges. Agricultural products can be involved regarding future harvest. *F"jučersy* are term contracts, contrary to *forvardni kontrakty* 'forward contracts'; the volume is strictly defined, only in key currency and correspondingly there is a limited number of stock-exchanges where futures are sold. This is a financial instrument that allows the decrease of financial risk to a company during, for example, currency transactions. They are concluded with the objective in mind of avoiding a speculative rise in price, that being therefore a certain portion of products which will be produced are effectively sold ahead of actually being produced. Futures are used when there are rapid fluctuations of economic conjuncture. Futures are often used in the coffee market, because price is heavily dependent upon climatic conditions. For a person who understands English, the term is easier to apprehend, emphasizes one of the subjects. Deliveries will be in future, but the prices are current. There are commodity, bond and currency futures. These contracts are signed in the international markets. These can be financial or trade markets with the purpose of insurance against risk from price increase or for goods and currency. Futures previously were unknown in Ukraine. They are not well developed even at this time.

- A stock-exchange term, which is relative to trades.

Summary and discussion: 19/25 subjects shared the first definition, while 3/25 shared the second definition. 3/25 did not use this term 'futures' and do not understand it.

With the majority of the subjects understanding the term similarly to Webster's, though because it is rather new and in limited circulation, the percentage of those who do not understand it or understand incompletely is still very high for the university business professorship level.

3.2.21. *akcija* 'share'

The word is present in Mel'nyčuk (1974: 34): 1) *Cinnyj papir, ščo svidčyt' pro vnesennja pevnoho paju v kapitalistyčne pidpryjemstvo i daje vlasnykovi pravo na dyvidend* '1) Securities, that prove the purchase of a certain type of share in a capitalist enterprise and gives its owner the right to a dividend.' The word is also present in Tryn'ko (1992: 6), Vaškiv (1993: 10), Močernyj (1995: 15), Kyjak (1997: 28), Slipuško (1999: 25). Havrylyshyn (1993: 49) translates *akciji* (the plural form of *akcija*) as shares.

Webster (1993: 2087) defines share as **2a**: a portion belonging to, due to, or contributed by an individual <his ~ in his father's estate> <put up his ~ of the cost> **b**: one's full or fair portion <had his ~ of luck> **c** (1): the part allotted or belonging to one of a number owning together any property or interest: the undivided interest of any one of a number owning jointly or in common: an apportioned lot: ALLOTMENT, DIVIDEND (2): any of the equal portions into which any property or invested capital is divided <a ship owned in 64 ~s>; usu: any of the equal interests or rights into which the entire capital stock of a corporation is divided: any of a number of equal indivisible rights or interests in the management, profits, and ultimate assets of a corporation constituting the property of those who own it and being regularly evidenced by one or more certificates – compare PREFERRED STOCK.

There are basically two different approaches relative to the definition of the word *akcija*:

- Securities (certificates) that testify that their owner has a share in the property of the enterprise and bring dividends of different kinds and forms. A statutory fund is divided into certain portions and *akcija* is one of its parts. Having a share gives a person the right to a certain portion of the overall profit. This document proves the participation of the member of the joint stock company for the purposes of receiving a profit. That is, there is *kontrol'nyj paket akcij* 'controlling interest.' It also gives stockholder the right to participate in the management of the company. The share or shares which the person bought gives them a proportional right to use the results of firm's endeavours. This security can be sold or bought if it is *vidkryte akcionerne tovarystvo* 'public limited company.' *Akcija* also characterizes the relations of property (ownership). These are corporate securities on which dividends are paid. *Akcija* does not have any defined time of circulation and testifies only to its owner's membership in the partnership and allows owner participation in the meetings of the joint stock company. *Akcioner* 'shareholder' is also responsible for the debt obligations. If the company has operating losses, dividends are not paid. *Akciji* do not provide a guaranteed income (profit).

- Securities that are an investment, i.e., a small subset of the normally-accepted complete meaning of this term.

Summary and brief discussion: 23/25 shared the first definition, while only 2/25 held to the second one.

Though the term *akcija* is understood in general by the subjects, the mechanism of its application is not completely apprehended due to a somewhat limited circulation of *akciji* in the Ukrainian society. The term has more theoretical than practical application.

3.2.22. *bankir* 'banker'

The word *bankir* is present in OSUM (1994: 35), Kyjak (1997: 39) and Krouglov (1997: 12). Havrylyshyn (1993: 51) translates *bankir* as banker. Mel'nyčuk

(1974: 86) presents *bankir* as *u kapitalistyčnyx krajinax bankivs'kyj dilok, velykyj akcioner banku abo vlasnyk bankivs'koho domu* 'in the capitalist countries banking wheeler-dealer, big shareholder of the bank or the owner of the banking house.' Vaškiv (1993: 17) defines *bankir* as *menedžer i vlasnyk hrošovoho kapitalu, jakyj specializujet'sja po vedennju bankivs'kyx operacij* 'manager and owner of money capital, specializing in conducting banking transactions.' The word *bankir* is absent in Slipuško (1999).

Webster (1993: 172) defines banker as **1**: one who engages in the business of commercial or investment banking.

There were basically three interpretations relative to the definition of the word *bankir* identified by the subjects of the experiment:

- A person who not only works in the bank, but also makes decisions regarding banking policy of his bank. In other words, this is the banking elite of the bank. It is necessary to differentiate between *bankivs'ki pracivnyky* 'banking clerks' and *bankiry* (the plural form of *bankir*). *Bankir* is a person who has influence on making decisions, when *bankivs'kyj pracivnyk*, as a rule, acts within limited frame. A cashier cannot be called *bankir*. The manager of the bank can be called *bankir*, because he can give higher interest or better conditions for obtaining something else. *Dyrektor banku* 'director of the bank' or *upravljajučyj bankom* 'manager of the bank' can be called *bankiry*. *Bankir* has certain banking opportunities in the sphere of the banking system - he tries to fulfil these opportunities. *Bankir* can own industrial capital. In the opinion of ordinary Ukrainian people, mentioned one of the subjects, any person who works in the bank, is *bankir*; they think that it could be a teller, an accountant or a computer specialist, working in a banking computer centre; but really *bankir* is only a person who works in the market of financial resources, reserves, and correspondingly performs activity within this sphere. *Bankiry* obligatorily have to work in the bank, this is the classic definition of *bankir*. *Finansysty* 'financial specialists' do not, obligatorily, have to work there, this is a more general category, but *bankiry* are involved specifically in the banking business. *Bankiry* have a certain responsibility for conducting strategic function.

- A person who does not necessarily work in the bank, but deals with banking activity, having contributed money to the bank and is instrumental in making decisions for bank activity. He can be a member of Board of Directors. He represents the higher management. This person receives interest from the bank. All of other people in the bank are hired by *bankir* to help him to make money. *Bankir* can hire an executive director. *Bankir* can be an owner of a bank or at least be the head of it. *Načal'nyk viddilu* 'head of the division' in the bank is not *bankir,* according to one of the subjects. In today's Ukrainian conditions, *bankir*, even if he is the founder of the bank does not own a majority share of its monetary resources. *Bankir* is the owner of loan capital, he provides credits. If he loans money for certain interest, he can be called *bankir*.
- Any person who works in the bank. It can be *kerivnyk banku* 'the head of the bank,' who decides all questions regarding financing of enterprises or

population or it can simply be any employee in the bank who deals with transmitting money from one account to the other. This definition fits Webster's.

Summary and discussion: 15/25 shared the first definition, 8/25 held to the second definition and 2/25 were proponents of the third definition.

There was no unanimous understanding of the term *bankir* among the subjects.

'Working in the bank/not working in the bank' and 'bank elite/bank clerks' are two sets of essential semantic components creating controversy with respect to the proper understanding/apprehension of *bankir*.

3.2.23. *diler (dyler)* 'dealer'

Both forms are not in Mel'nyčuk (1974), OSUM (1994). The word is present in Vaškiv (1993: 45) as *diler*, Slipuško (1999: 81) as *dyler – osoba, ščo zajmajet'sja pereprodažem tovariv, cinnyx paperiv i valjut* 'dealer is a person who deals with reselling goods, securities and currency.' Havrylyshyn (1993: 58) in the Ukrainian section translates *diler* as dealer, and in its English section (1993: 15) dealer – *diler, poserednyk* 'intermediary (middleman).' Močernyj (1995: 76) presents *diler (makler, džobber) – osoba abo firma, jaki vystupajut' na birži vid svoho imeni i zdijsnjujut' poserednyc'ki torhovi operaciji za vlasni košty* 'dealer (broker, jobber) – person or company that are represented in a stock exchange on their own behalf and conduct intermediary trade transactions for their own funds.' The word is also registered in Linnikov (1992: 36-37) as *diler (dyler),* Tryn'ko

(1992: 25) as *dyler,* Kyjak (1997: 63-64) as *diler,* Krouglov (1997: 35) as *torhivel'nyj agent* 'trade agent,' *dyler, poserednyk* 'intermediary,' Zelens'kyj (1998: 71) as *dyler.*

Webster (1993: 581) defines dealer as **1:** one that divides, distributes, or delivers **2:** obs: NEGOTIATOR, AGENT, GO-BETWEEN **3:** one that acts or conducts himself in some specified way toward others <noted as a plain ~> **4:** one that does business: TRADER, TRAFFICKER, MIDDLEMAN: a person who makes a business of buying and selling goods esp. without altering their condition <a ~ in dry goods> <~ in stocks> <an automobile ~> - compare MANUFACTURER **5:** one that buys and sells (as securities, commercial paper, or foreign exchange) on his own account – compare BROKER.

There were basically five different approaches to defining the word *diler (dyler):*

- A stock exchange worker who deals with resale contracts. This *diler* is a person involved in stock exchange trade. He is an intermediary who conducts buying/selling of goods for pay. He makes a commission for his services or accepts another form of reimbursement. One of the subjects remarked that in some instances *diler* may use his own money as well as other people's.
- Any intermediary (middleman) involved in selling/buying products, not necessarily through a stock exchange. As one of the subjects remarked, in the Ukrainian economy this is a person with whom it is better not to deal. It is preferable to conclude contacts directly, without *poserednyky* 'intermediaries.' Working through *diler* is much more expensive. *Diler* is a wholesale

intermediary between producer and consumer. *Diler* can also be an intermediary during the conclusion of big agreements. The word *poserednyk* can be also used, but some of the subjects considered *diler* more fashionable. There are different types of *dilery* with respect to their functions. *Diler* can be involved in the distribution of certain products. He can offer insurance services, for example.

- A person who deals with intermediary activity (in business) as well as a person who concludes agreements in the stock exchange (in the financial markets). This is obviously a combination of the two aforementioned definitions.
- A person representing somebody's interests and having certain rights and benefits. The term *diler* represents certain organization or trade mark(s) and acts directly on behalf of this organization, investing his own funds. Big companies, as a rule, employ such kinds of people.
- A member of profession dealing with the distribution of goods.

Summary and discussion: 12/25 subjects shared the first definition, 7/25 held to the second definition, 2/25 agreed with the third definition, 2/25 preferred the fourth definition and only 1/25 shared the fifth definition. 1/25 did not provide a definition of the term *diler (dyler).* 12/25 subjects favoured of the term *diler*, 7/25 – supported the variant term *dyler*, while only 1/25 did not give preference to either term.

Being very popular, first, in the business lexicon and later, in general speech the word *diler/dyler* acquired a wide range of definitions, signaled by the responses above.

Approximately half of the subjects support the definition of *diler/dyler* as a stock exchange worker who deals with resale contracts.

The split of the definition into 5 categories demonstrates the variety of perceptions of the term held by the subjects.

3.2.24. *investyciji* 'investment'

The word is registered in Linnikov (1992: 44-45), Tryn'ko (1992: 28), Vaškiv (1993: 61), OSUM (1994: 287), Močernyj (1995: 141), Kyjak (1997: 77-78), Krouglov (1997: 61), as investment – 1. *investycija* 2. *kapitalovkladennja* 'capital investment,' Zelens'kyj (1998: 141-142), *investycija, kapitalovkladennja*. Mel'nyčuk (1974: 279) presents *investycija* as *dovhostrokove vkladennja kapitalu (koštiv) u rizni haluzi ekonomiky, perevažno za mežamy krajiny* 'long-term capital investment (funds) to various branches of economy, mainly abroad.' Havrylyshyn (1993: 25) translates investment as *investycija; investuvannja* 'investing,' *kapitalovkladennja* 'capital investment.' In its Ukrainian section (Havrylyshyn 1993: 65) translates *investycija* as investment, *investycija kapitalu* as capital investment and *investuvannja* as investment. Havrylyshyn (1993: 66) presents *kapitalovkladennja* as capital expenditures; *kapitalovkladennja* – capital investment; *kapitalovkladennja* – investment; *kapitalovkladennja* – rate of return;

kapitalovkladennja v osnovni fondy – fixed investments; and *kapitalovkladennja v ryzykovane pidpryjemstvo* – as venture capital.

Webster (1993: 1190) presents investment as **1a**: an expenditure of money for income or profit or to purchase something of intrinsic value: capital outlay <~ in common stocks> <~ in a diamond brooch> **b**: the sum invested or the property purchased <has a large ~ in a copper mine> <a fine painting is an ~> **2**: the commitment of funds with a view to minimizing risk and safeguarding capital while earning a return – contrasted with speculation.

There were three basically different interpretations demonstrated relative to the definition of the word *investyciji*:

- Capital investment in the development of a productive or non-productive sphere. Investments are made with the idea of realizing a profit. Usually these are long-term investments. *Investyciji* are free funds that can be invested in any business. Investments can be placed by large companies or businessmen who have free assets at their disposal. These capital investments can be made in various branches of industry as well as in company shares. There can be internal investments as well as foreign ones. Investments are always made under certain conditions and both sides want to have guarantees with reference to profit assurance. If monies are given without any condition, then this process is called *mecenatstvo* or *sponsorstvo* 'sponsorship.' Investment can be also made in a certain project or projects as well as in enterprises, technologies or investment instruments. When shares are purchased, considered one of the subjects, we do not call this process *investuvannja* 'investment,' because this is redistribution of what was already created. Realized profit usually is divided into *zaoščadžennja* 'savings ' and *spožyvannja* 'consumption,' according to one of the subjects. Investment is made by an entrepreneur. Savings can and can not be transformed into *investyciji*. *Investyciji* can be defined as money resources which are invested in new production, in the creation of new trade network. According to one of the subjects, this foreign word came into active circulation and became like native Ukrainian one. The state can also invest in culture, without gaining certain profit.

- Capital investments that can have a form of equipment, machinery, information technologies. In Ukraine there is *Zakon 'Pro inozemne investuvannja*' Decree on Foreign Investment.'
- Any type of financial, property, intellectual investments with the purpose of gaining profit. *Investyciji* is a broader concept than *kapitalovkladennja*, because they can have the form of intellectual values. Know-how can be also considered as one of the forms of *investyciji*. This term was known for a long period of time, but became widely spread at the beginning of 90s in connection with market transformations in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. *Investyciji* are said to have contributed to the closure of Chornobyl and creation of new workplaces. According to one of the subjects long-term investments are not made in the Ukrainian economy, only short-term and middle-term ones because of the lack of guarantees and legal basis.

Summary and discussion: 20/25 share the first definition, 3/25 share the second one and 2/25 share the third one.

Already having been used for an extended period of time (see Mel'nyčuk 1974) the term *investyciji* was quite well understood by the subjects. With the first definition dealing more with what is expressed by Ukrainian *kapitalovkladennja* 'capital investment,' the second and the third definitions broaden the semantic content/meaning of the term.

The problem in Ukraine rests in part with the low level of investment (including foreign investment) in the development of the national economy.

The perception of the term by the Ukrainian subjects approximates that held in the West.

3.2.25. *konsaltynh* 'consulting'

The word is not in Mel'nyčuk (1974), Linnikov (1992), Havrylyshyn (1993), OSUM (1994) and Močernyj (1995). Kyjak (1997: 97) presents this word as *konsaltyng*, while Tryn'ko (1992: 32) as *konsal'tynh*. Vaškiv (1993: 74) defines this term as *nadannja konsul'tacijnyx posluh z pytan' vdoskonalennja hospodars'koji dijal'nosti na rynku, v sferi zovnišn'oekonomičnyx zv"jazkiv, vedennja biznesu* 'providing consulting services with respect to improvement of economic activity in the market, in the sphere of foreign economic relations, in conducting business.' Slipuško (1999: 127) presents *konsaltynh* as *nadannja konsul'tacij tovarovyrobnykam, prodavcjam i pokupcjam z pytan' dijal'nosti pidpryjemstv, firm, orhanizacij* 'provision of consultation to commodity producers, sellers and consumers on the issues of activity of enterprises, companies and organizations.' Krouglov (1997: 29) translates consulting as 1. *konsul'tuvannja* 2. *konsalting* (*konsul'tuvannja z širokoho kola pytan' ekonomičnoji dijal'nosty*) '(consultation on broad range of questions concerning economic activity).'

Webster (1993: 490) defines consulting as: of or having to do with consultation or a consultant.

There were six basic inclinations among the subjects with reference to the definition of the term *konsaltynh*:

- The provision of professional (mostly business) consultation services for payment. This type of business envisages the sale of intellectual knowledge. *Konsaltynh* means providing technical knowledge through consultation with the aim of solving specific problems. *Konsaltynh* can be used in connection with the implementation of new accounting standards at an enterprise, with the preparation of a business plan in order to procure capital or it can be associated with engineering projects which can lead to the creation of some other type of production or with the development or creation of new equipment. This concept came to Ukraine from the West and, as one of the subjects remarked, it is difficult to understand it and Ukrainians attempt to correlate it with concept they are used to and have actually used. The other subject defined *konsaltynh* as type of entrepreneurial activity aimed at providing consulting services in the sphere of economics, business and law; and there can be technical *konsaltynh*. It can be consultational activity aimed at explaining certain regulations, positions and how to apply these regulations in the spheres of economy. In Ukraine there are law and engineering firms, as well as technological, educational and medical companies specializing in consultancy services. According to one of the subjects, within Ukraine there are good prospects for the development of consulting companies. These companies possess valuable information and for the moderate price they provide extremely pertinent services. In Ternopil, for example, consulting companies are consulted regarding privatization of property. There are some consulting companies in Ukraine that use grants and foreign assets. They are also consulted regarding the situation in the market and on how to conduct business, on methods of management, with reference to financial transactions and with regard to the evaluation of the activity of enterprises. They offer solutions in various crisis situations and a means to evaluate solutions. They can assist in the implementation of certain entrepreneurial plans or in the optimization of production processes. *Konsaltynh* can be done at the State level and on the level of private entrepreneurship. Consultancy can also be conducted on an international level.

- Particular market related advisory services
- A type of financial activity and financial evaluation
- An assistance to dealerships in the market of securities regarding search of investors
- An advisory tool in the consolidation, unification of small units into a big one

- A part of the auditing activity of an organization connected with the control of finances and book-keeping

Some of these are narrower definitions within the first one.

Summary and discussion: 18/25 were proponents of the first definition, 2/25 held the second definition, 1/25 shared the third definition, 1/25 proffered the fourth definition, 1/25 agreed with the fifth definition and 1/25 was the advocate of the sixth definition. One subject did not provide any information on the definition of the term.

Certain differences are obvious in the understanding of the term *konsaltynh* by the Ukrainian subjects. The confusion is, I think, created by a) its foreign origin, b) its recent borrowing, c) its limited use in business literature and d) the low number of consulting firms in Ukraine.

3.2.26. *reklama* 'advertising'

The word is present in Mel'nyčuk (1974: 579), Vaškiv (1993: 126), Krouglov (1997: 4), Zelens'kyj (1998: 402), Slipuško (1999: 216). Havrylyshyn (1993: 85) translates *reklama, reklamuvannja* as advertising. Močernyj (1995: 277) defines *reklama* as *cil'ova informacija pro spožyvči vlastyvosti tovariv ta posluh z metoju jix populjaryzaciji i zbutu* 'targeted information on consumer goods and services with the purpose of their popularization and sales.' The word is absent in Linnikov (1992) and (Tryn'ko 1992).

Webster (1993: 31-32) presents advertising (also advertizing) as **1**: the action of calling something (as a commodity for sale, a service offered or desired) to the attention of the public esp. by means of printed or broadcast paid announcements **2**: ADVERTISEMENTS <a magazine containing a great deal of ~) <the ~ pages of the Sunday newspaper> **3**: the business or profession of designing and preparing advertisements for publication or broadcast <an ~ firm> <a career in ~> <began to work for the ~ department of a small insurance firm>.

There are basically four approaches with respect to the definitions of *reklama*:

- A way of informing and popularizing commodities, entertainment, services and other things with the purpose of gaining the attention and interest of potential consumers. This is the process of the promotion of certain commodities or services to their market. Commodities, products or services can be advertized in the mass media, public places, or means of transport. Advertizing is aimed at speeding up the sale of products because in the market environment it is difficult to sell products. One of the subjects stated that conditions are developing today in Ukraine in which the sale of commodities is becoming more and more difficult. *Reklama* drives commerce and, as one subject mentioned, it compels us to buy goods that we do not necessarily need. If advertising corresponds to the quality of goods than that it is a good thing, it broadens consumers' opportunities. When it is false, it should be forbidden, considers the same subject. Advertising in press or other mass media is paid for and is aimed at producing profit. *Reklama* is one of the elements of marketing policy. *Reklama* is widely spread through TV, radio, posters, booklets, prospects. As one of the subjects mentioned, *reklama,* contrary to *proštovxuvannja tovaru* 'commodity promotion' (which is called *promocija* 'promotion') is more durable in time and it does not stop with the end of a particular campaign. It lasts for some time after the promotion has been suspended. *Reklama* attempts to compensate for our absence of knowledge about certain products, it updates our information. One of the subjects mentioned that previously in the Soviet Union there was the term *reklama*. However, at that time, he adds, it was not necessary because of the lack of products. Actually *antyreklama* 'antiadvertising' was necessary in order to hide where all the commodities were going and to whom. The same subject mentioned that current types of *reklama* in Ukraine is not of good quality. Since Ukraine has only less than 10% of people able to pay, 90% of population can not afford to buy things that are advertised.

- A measure (action) aimed at promoting sales, increasing the level of sales
- An instrument of marketing
- A means of misinforming potential buyers and clients

Some of these definitions can be viewed as part of #1.

Summary and discussion: 21/25 subjects shared the first definition, 2/25 held the second definition, 1/25 agreed with the third definition and 1/25 shared the fourth definition.

The word *reklama* is an established term in the Ukrainian business and professional lexicon. There is an understanding of the term by the subjects and its necessity for promotion of certain goods and products. Some subjects evidenced scepticism and commented on the irony of the term (in the Ukrainian context) with respect to using advertizing where there is insufficient consumer currency in the population to justify the expense of promoting products for mass sale.

3.3. English Terms that Do Not Have Equivalents in the Ukrainian Language

This section deals with responses to the final question on the questionnaire ("Additional commentary"). All the terms which were mentioned by the informants as not having equivalent are listed below.

The two most authoritative English-Ukrainian dictionaries (Havrylyshyn 1993) and (Krouglov 1997) were consulted with respect to whether these terms are really represented in them or not. Krouglov (1997), being published outside Ukraine, was almost unavailable to the subjects. Another reason that should be emphasized was that not all Ukrainian subjects had any knowledge of English. Mostly people of the elder generation do not. The younger generation of subjects knew some English and some of them had been abroad for a significant period of time.

- Terms that do not have Ukrainian equivalents:

  strike price

  in the money

  out of the money

  intertemporal trade

- Terms that are listed in at least one dictionary:

  royalty

Krouglov (1997: 91) presents as 1. *avtors'kyj honorar* 'author's honorarium'; *platnja vynaxidnykovi za korystuvannja patentom* 'payment to the inventor for using patent' 2. *licenzijna vynahoroda* 'reward for the license,' *licenzijnyj platiž* 'payment for the license' 3. *rojalti*.

tax-free

Krouglov (1997: 98) translates this as *vil'nyj vid podatku* 'free from tax'[6].

procurement

Havrylyshyn (1993: 34) translates this as *prydbannja* 'acquisition'[7].

sales promotion

Havrylyshyn (1993: 38) translates this term as *prosuvannja tovaru* 'commodity promotion'; *stymuljuvannja zbutu* 'sales stimulation'[8].

premium price

Krouglov (1997: 80) translates it as *nadbavka do ciny* 'addition (extra charge) to the price.'

- Terms that are listed in both dictionaries:

terms of trade

Both Krouglov (1997: 98) and Havrylyshyn (1993: 42) translate it as *umovy torhivli*[9].

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[6] According to my knowledge, the word *neopodatkovanyj* can be used.

[7] One of the subjects explained that this is an effective use of budget funds by economic entities.

[8] According to one of the subjects, there is a borrowing *promocija* in Ukrainian. This subject uses simply
promotion in its English spelling form.

[9] One of the subjects emphasized that this variant is not correct. It has an actual correlation between export and import prices.

According to the subjects, terms connected with licensing, law, non-material funds, rights for property may not as yet have equivalents in the Ukrainian language.

3.4. Conclusions

In conclusion, I try briefly to answer three aforementioned questions: 1) Do these terms correspond to accepted Western concepts and notions? 2) How does the meaning of these terms differs from Western concepts? 3) What is the specific Ukrainian content added to the terms?

Short answers are:

1) To a significant extent Ukrainian terms correspond to accepted Western concepts and notions with certain differences from them, adding specific Ukrainian content in particular cases.

   Mostly native Ukrainian words (like *podatok* 'tax') or those used previously (like *infljacija* 'inflation,' *deval'vacija* 'devaluation') correspond to accepted Western concepts. The biggest problem was with the newest terms (mostly borrowed from English, like *pablik rilejšnz* 'public relations,' *konsaltynh* 'consulting,' *f'jučersy* 'futures). According to majority of the subjects, most recently borrowed terms (those borrowed in the 1990s) had to correspond more to accepted Western concepts, though sometimes they are not properly understood by the subjects. This contradiction is crucial to their relativity to the corresponding Western business concepts. There is also a tendency among certain of the subjects to prefer native Ukrainian terms over the borrowed Western ones.

2) They do not absolutely cover Western concepts (though in Western business literature there is no unanimous approach to these terms, and sometimes the range of definitions can be broad). The matter is complicated often by the existing parallel native Ukrainian analogue or those previously borrowed terms which originated under the communist regime. Sometimes the English terms are simpler in their definition and are more concrete. Ukrainians try to make them more complicated, extending their theoretical aspect. There can be a certain departure from the existing Western practice because of the specifics of development of the corresponding concepts in Ukrainian business (like *f'jučersy*, for example).

   Konsaltynh is a difficult concept even for a professional, according to one of the subjects. Consulting companies are rather rare and the consulting market is not yet very well developed. Perhaps with the development of the market economy these terms will be easier to understand. Ten years ago, according to one of the subjects, there were more difficulties.

3) Specific Ukrainian content added to the term is explained in the examples of *biznes* and *biznesmen*. Both terms in Ukrainian have positive and negative connotations. The concept of *biznes* is often associated with *tin'ovyj* 'shady (black),' making money by any means, sometimes out of nothing. *Biznesmen*, according to one of the subjects, can work both in official and unofficial

spheres. According to the same subject, anyone in Ukraine who works in a company and is an independent person, can be called *biznesmen*.

Western business concepts are not transferred automatically to Ukrainian reality. Ukrainian terms adapt to the general Ukrainian context of business, acquiring a wider range of semantic meanings, and a broader spectrum of use. They tend more to a theoretical level as compared with Webster's applied level. The explanation can be found in the fact that some of these Western concepts do not have adequate analogues in the Ukrainian business setting and also by the fact that foreign borrowed terms can be automatically assigned broader meanings because of their "foreignness" and some "mysterious" content.

Some foreign terms acquire broader meanings than the terms have in the source language itself. Moreover,

> "In some cases a borrowed word does not convey any of the meanings of the source word: only a phonetic shell and individual semems comprising a mere fraction of the word's meaning are adopted. This happened in the case of *vaučer* (English 'voucher'), a sad symbol of the failed attempt to introduce 'popular capitalism' in Russia" (Ryazanova-Clarke and Wade 1999: 156).

Ryazanova-Clarke and Wade (1999: 157) explain the specificity of the other Russian word *prezentacija*:

> "*Prezentacija* 'presentation' is yet another loan word which bears a specific Russian meaning. It is used to refer to a ceremony of opening or launching something (for example, a company) or to a promotional preview (for example, of an exhibition or a film), involving invited celebrities and lavish refreshments".

They continue:

> "Judging by the semantic structure of the English word, only isolated semantic components are relayed by the loan, namely 'an event or

> ceremony', 'in front of the audience' and, perhaps, 'conveying information' (Ryazanova-Clarke and Wade 1999: 158).

Ryazanova-Clarke and Wade (1999: 158) speak about reshaping semantic groups by borrowing, so called 'semantic redistribution'.

I assume that the word is borrowed with restricted meaning (the same as one of the English meanings) and then later some Ukrainian component is added to the term.

Processes described in Ukrainian are presumably occurring worldwide. Collins (1999) presents the following meanings of English business terms:

marketing *n* Marketing *nt*; ~ **manager** Marketingmanager(in) *mf* (Collins 1999: 1539);

management *n* (= act) (of company) Leitung *f*, Führung *f*, Management *nt*; management course *n* Managerkurs (Collins 1999: 1539);

manager (Comm.etc.) Geschaftsführer(in) *m (f)*, Manager (in) *m(f)*; (*of pop star etc*) Manager(in) *m(f)* (Collins 1999: 1535);

public relations *n pl. or sing.* Publicrelations *pl.*, Public Relations *pl.*, Öffentlichkeitsarbeit *f.* (Collins 1999: 1690).

Wolfgang Falkner 1999: 319) comments: "Trade names of English origin are widespread in the discourse of advertising in Germany".

The same author mentions: "Foreign loan words generally run a high risk of being uninterpretable…" (Falkner 1999: 322). Among one of the reasons of giving preference to a borrowing is 'an aura of international renown' (Falkner 1999: 322).

James Stanlaw (1992: 181) mentions:

> "English loanwords can be heard in Japan in everyday conversation, on television and radio programs or announcements, and in political speeches. Newspapers, popular magazines, and books all use loanwords. Technical and professional journals use English loanwords for a specialized vocabulary... The vocabulary of sports borrows from English quite readily, though often with a slight Japanese twist on the words involved..."

He also points out: "English loanwords may also be brought into Japanese through the use of advertising" (Stanlaw 1992: 193).

The other author, Goodfellow (1999: 67) in the subsection "Janglish" mentions:

> "Many Western-type capitalist concepts find a prominent place in the Japanese vocabulary... In Japan this is reflected in borrowings from the English language that describe economic change – '*Koporeito*' (corporate governance), '*Stokku opushon*' (stock option) and '*Gurobaru standada*' (global standard)."

The same process, i.e., the massive borrowing from English, especially in the business lexicon, is also evident in other languages.

It seems that Western borrowed business terms, which are sometimes criticized by Ukrainian linguists, do not 'impoverish' the Ukrainian language, but on the contrary, are used to enrich the lexicon. The new Ukrainian business lexicon had to come into existence because in the former Soviet Union the language of business was Russian. The emerging new Ukrainian business lexicon is taking into account the previous tradition of Ukrainian business vocabulary (mostly of the years 1925-1932), with an inclination toward internationalization and the unification of business lexicon. It does not exclude the appearance and formation of native Ukrainian business terms. As some of the subjects explained, the Ukrainian business lexicon is going through the following cycle: 1) extensive borrowing from English; 2) explanation of the borrowed terms by Ukrainian equivalents; and 3) active use of these Ukrainian equivalents as parallel or the only forms for certain concepts. The borrowed *pablik rilejšnz* and native *zv"jazky z hromads'kistju* are currently often used in parallel. There is a good chance that in future *zv"jazky z hromads'kistju* will gain the upper hand in this competition.

Ukrainian business terminology has to reflect the current stage of development of business in Ukraine. The Ukrainian business lexicon in the 90s underwent a crucial change fulfilling its main objective – facilitating the development of business in Ukraine.

CONCLUSIONS

Present-day Ukrainian drastically differs from the language of the nineteenth century. Its lexicon has expanded tremendously having used all of the possible methods of replenishment (affixation, borrowings, calques). The extent of changes during this period has been considerable. This change is still ongoing and hard to evaluate. That is why the attempt to do it can be considered worthwhile.

The Ukrainian language has been radically transformed in the post-Soviet period by the disintegration of 'Soviet newspeak' and by the process of Westernization. Linguistic prescriptive norms were seriously loosened in the period I have analyzed (1991-2001). During the ten-year period the Ukrainian language became stylistically diverse, endeavoring to develop its own slang, informal ways of expression. This period is also marked by strong development of the professional and business lexicon.

Utilizing a brief description of the historic development of the Ukrainian language (chapter 1) I revealed recent changes in the Contemporary Ukrainian lexicon (primarily in the language of the mass media, chapter 2) and in the perception of the business lexicon in modern Ukrainian discourse by Ukrainian subjects (chapter 3).

Chapter 1 presented an overview of the historical process of development of the Ukrainian language. The discussion comprised the time from the beginning of the nineteenth century until the end of the twentieth century. For each period within this timeframe, I have concentrated on which specific factors of political, social and cultural life influenced the development of the Ukrainian lexicon. This chapter was based on the literature review on the topic with corpus data analyzed for the last two subsections (1.11. and 1.12). I showed that each period was characterized by different tendencies, which provided a detailed background for the focus of my research.

The nineteenth century was crucial for laying down the foundations of the standard Ukrainian language. The second half of that century was also very important for the development of scientific, political, and business lexicon, with the activities primarily focused in the Western Ukraine. I concentrated on revitalization efforts, borrowing, and the impact of the division of Ukrainian territory on the use of the Ukrainian language.

In the nineteenth century there was significant borrowing from Polish and Russian, while the latest period (1991-2001) is characterized by an extensive borrowing from English. Borrowing from Russian will probably decrease in future. The brief period of the Ukrainian republic (1917-1919), the period of Ukrainianization (1925-1932) and Khrushchev's thaw saw some kind of revitalization of the Ukrainian language but due to different reasons this revitalization was either severely curtailed or crushed.

The division of Ukrainian territory among different states during the nineteenth and through the 1940s continues to be a factor in the deficient use and functionality of the Ukrainian language throughout the territory of Ukraine today. There was very limited functioning of Ukrainian in the Ukrainian SSR. The communist period witnessed a restricted use of the Ukrainian language, which was degraded to the language of the "lower" strata of the population. Due to the constant limitations and restrictions on the Ukrainian language certain parts of its lexicon were ousted to the periphery and became passive. Strict language normativism was a distinctive feature of Ukrainian in the Soviet period. The Ukrainian language was mostly perceived as the language of peasantry and as being unable to reproduce the diverse forms of the urban culture.

Chapter 2 discussed recent lexical changes in the Contemporary Ukrainian lexicon during the ten-year span of Ukrainian independence (1991-2001), in particular the language of the mass media. The data were drawn from current Ukrainian newspapers and magazines and, in certain cases, contrasted with Russian examples. Tracing the transition from the language of a totalitarian society to the language of a democratic society requires close attention and is not an easy task. The analysis showed:

1) tendencies in lexical development of Contemporary Ukrainian;
2) the process of democratization unfolding with an unprecedented speed in Contemporary Ukrainian.

As being the most susceptible to changes, the lexicon can serve as a 'testing ground' for morphological, stylistic and other changes in Contemporary Ukrainian.

In this chapter I tried to prove that Ukrainian has reached the level at which it can adequately reflect societal changes on different levels adjusting itself to the demands of the present time. As described in this chapter, through unpredictable word combinations new semantic combinability is being tested.

Some of these words or word combinations are used in quotation marks and in other resources they are used without them. Certain semantic connotations or allusions to certain people, facts, and data are very important nowadays for understanding modern speech.

The careful analysis of the lexicon as summarized in chapter 2 provided a varied picture of the development and functioning of Contemporary Ukrainian. The role of derivation is drastically increased (such as having nouns as the first component, which were previously restricted to certain 'fixed' word combinations). Freedom brought a loosening of standards and norms evidenced by a tremendous increase of clipped compounds. The changes fill in the referential gaps that, let us admit, existed in Ukrainian during the communist regime. Some examples will be squeezed out in time, having served the role of temporary markers in Ukrainian. The Soviet period in the development of the Ukrainian language was marked by an abundant use of acronyms and other abbreviations. Most abbreviations of that period are now defunct and many new abbreviations have appeared, primarily dealing with finance and politics. Acronym-based derivatives are also very popular not only in speech but in the mass media.

Chapter 3, based on interviews conducted with instructors in Ukraine, continued the discussion of the development of the Ukrainian lexicon on the specific list of business terms. This chapter provided interesting results with respect to business terms in Ukrainian in comparison with definitions of comparable items in Webster's dictionary. The main objective of this chapter was to show the semantic content of certain business terms and sometimes their correlation with native Ukrainian equivalents and their adequacy or inadequacy when compared with western business practices, as they are viewed by Ukrainian subjects. Currently there is a certain fashion in Ukrainian for foreign borrowed terms (mostly English). Sometimes there is no necessity to use a borrowed term when there is a good Ukrainian equivalent. But sometimes these equivalents can have 'Soviet era' connotations, particularly when the business environment did not exist in the Soviet Union in the traditional Western understanding of this concept with all its business institutions, scientific developments and practical applications. Replacing the planned economy with a new market economy creates new conditions for business development in Ukraine and its adequate reflection in the language.

Tendencies that were discussed for Ukrainian differ to a certain extent from tendencies in English. The definitions of certain terms are broadened and have more scientific orientation. The problem is that some Western concepts exist in Ukrainian more on paper than in real life. That is why the understanding of these terms can be vague and sometimes confusing. As mentioned previously, the integration of Ukraine into world structures will harmonize Ukrainian business lexicon, bringing it closer to Western business standards. Some subjects mentioned that Ukrainian terminologists in this ten-year span went through various cycles: extensive borrowing, then understanding and trying to explain a borrowed term by Ukrainian equivalents, and then usage of the latter equivalents instead of the borrowed terms. Some of them predicted a lesser use of borrowed terms in future. However, the conclusions reached in this dissertation should not automatically be extended to other business terminology.

The main merit of the dissertation is a systematic picture of Contemporary Ukrainian lexicon and recent changes in it with a special emphasis on developments in business lexicon. These changes truly testify to the process of democratization, or liberalization as other researchers prefer to call it, which is unfolding with an unprecedented speed in Contemporary Ukrainian. Lexical changes during the ten-year period of the Ukrainian independence are a gauge of social change. The Ukrainian language does not stand aside from the process of internationalization of professional (mostly business) lexicon, relying on the tremendous experience of the English language in this field and simultaneously trying to utilize its own resources and peculiarities of historical development.

The conditions of statehood can not be exaggerated for the development of the Ukrainian language, and recent changes testify to the importance of the existence of an independent Ukrainian state for the development and use of Contemporary Ukrainian with maximum extension into the spheres of previously neglected or limited use.

Summarizing, the dissertation demonstrated unprecedented changes in contemporary Ukrainian lexicon with 1) the revival of old vocabulary that had previously been suppressed, 2) the appearance of a new lexicon, 3) the emergence of new word combinations. The years of independence were crucial for the revitalization of the Ukrainian language.

Due to the scope of this study, several questions remained untouched, which I plan to incorporate in my future research of the Ukrainian language of the beginning of the twenty first century:

1) to compare changes in Contemporary Ukrainian business lexicon with changes in Business Polish and Business Russian;
2) to broaden the scope of available data;
3) to group these terms into specific business categories.

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Ukrajins'kyj kur"jer (UK) 1998
Ukrajins'kyj futbol (UF) 2001
Večirnij Kyjiv (VK) 1999, 2000, 2001

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Forum 2001
Komsomol'skaja pravda (KP) 2000
Nezavisimaja gazeta (NG) 2000

Magazines

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Polityka i kul'tura (PiK) 2000, 2001
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APPENDICES

Appendix 1. 'Phenomena word' category see 1.11.

bijci lenins'koji hvardiji – 'Leninist guard soldiers'
bil'šovyk-leninec' – 'bolshevik-Leninist'
borec' za vladu Rad – 'fighter for the power of Soviets'
Velykyj Žovten' – 'Great October'
vydatnyj revoljucioner-leninec' – 'outstanding revolutionary follower of Lenin'
herojičnyj narod – 'heroic nation'
davaty na-hora – 'to produce [of coal]'
dev"jata p"jatyrička – 'ninth five-year plan'
dyrektyvy ... z"jizdu KPRS – 'CPSU directions'
Žovtneva revoljucija – 'October revolution'
zahin ideolohičnyx pracivnykiv – 'brigade of ideological workers'
zajmaty miscja v prezydiji – 'to take seats in the presidium'
zakinčyty likvidaciju nimec'ko-fašysts'kyx vijs'k – 'to finish the elimination of German fascist troops'
zlamaty opir protyvnyka – 'to break the resistance of the enemy'
ideolohični bijci partiji – 'ideological fighters of the party'[1]
imperialistyčna ahresija – 'imperialist aggression'
imperialistyčni ta mižnarodni sionists'ki kola – 'imperialist and international Zionist circles'
istoryčna bytva – 'historical battle'
kandydat v členy ... - 'Candidate-Member…'
komsomols'ka premija – 'Komsomol prize'
komunistyčna ekonomika – 'Communist economics'
Krajina Rad – 'Country of the Soviets'
nadplanova produkcija – 'over the-planned production'
napruženo pracjuvaty – 'to work intensely'
natxnenna pracja – 'inspired work'
orden Trudovoho Červonoho Prapora – 'order of Red Banner of Labor'
p"jatyrička na marši – 'Five-year plan on the march'[2]
povalennja samoderžavstva i kapitalizmu v Rosiji – 'overthrow of autocracy and capitalism in Russia'
polityčna ahitacija – 'political agitation'
polityčnyj plakat – 'political poster'
politškola – 'political school'
prapor Dnipropetrovščyny – 'banner of Dnipropetrovsk Region'
Rada Ekonomičnoji Vzajemodopomohy (REV) – 'Council of Mutual Economic Assistance'
robitnyče žyttja – 'life of the working people'
robitnyčyj klas – 'working class'[3]

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[1] title of an article, *Ukrajina*, March 1973, 12: 3
[2] title of an article, *Ukrajina,* February 1973, 6: 4
[3] the word *trudjašči*, synonym of *robitnyčyj klas* also is not used anymore

robitnyčyj profesor – ‘professor of the working people’
robitnyčyj universytet – ‘University for working people’
rozčavleno oseredok oporu- ‘the center of resistance is crushed’
soratnyk Illiča – ‘Lenin’s comrade-in-arms’
socialistyčna Bat’kivščyna – ‘socialist Motherland’
socialistyčna kul’tura – ‘socialist culture’
Socialistyčna Čexoslovaččyna – ‘Socialist Czechoslovakia’
socialistyčne suspil’stvo – ‘socialist society’
tovary narodnoho spožyvannja – ‘consumer goods’
trybun komunizmu – ‘tribune of communism’
trudjaščyj ljud – ‘working people’
tryči kavaler ordena Červonoho Prapora – ‘three times bearer of the order of Red Banner’
udarna pracja peredovykiv socialistyčnoho zmahannja – ‘intensive work of front-rank workers of socialist competition”
udarna robota – ‘intensive work’
udarna vaxta – ‘intensive work shift’
udarna trudova vaxta – ‘intensive labor shift’
udarni dila – ‘intensive deeds’[4]
Ukrajins’ka RSR – ‘Ukrainian SSR’
francuz’kyj proletariat – ‘French proletariat’
xliborobs’ka dynastija – ‘plowman’s dynasty’[5]
xor-lanka – ‘choir - group’
cars’ki karateli – ‘tsarist members of a punitive expedition’
Člen Politbjuro CK KPRS – ‘Member of the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the CPSU’
šefstvo – ‘patronage’

Appendix 2. ‘Demagogic value’ category see 1.11.

braters’ka dopomoha velykoho rosijs’koho narodu – ‘brotherly assistance of the great Russian people’[6]
braterstvo radjans’kyx narodiv – ‘brotherhood of Soviet nations’
viddanist’ velykij spravi lenins’koji partiji – ‘devotion to the great cause of the Leninist party’
vikopomnyj podvyh – ‘everlasting heroic deed’
virni pryncypam proletars’koho, socialistyčnoho internacionalizmu – ‘true to the principles of proletarian, socialist internationalism’
HOST (from *Russian gosudarstvennyj standart)* – ‘state standard’[7]

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[4] the word *udarnyj* was extremely popular (has now disappeared)
[5] adjective *xliborobs’kyj* was very popular, as well as *robitnyčyj, seljans’kyj.*
[6] the adjective *rosijs’kyj* was often accompanied by *velykyj*
[7] the word *Derstandart* was used, though the acronym was *GOST*

žyvotvorna syla družby j braterstva narodiv – ‘invigorating force of friendship and brotherhood of nations’
zblyžennja nacij – ‘rapprochement of nations’
zbroja myru – ‘weapon of peace’[8]
z hlybokym zadovolennjam – ‘with deep satisfaction’
zhurtovanist' navkolo velykoji lenins'koji partiji – ‘rally around the great Leninist party’
znamenna data – ‘memorable date’
internacional'ne bačennja – ‘international vision’
internacional'ne vyxovannja trudjaščyx – ‘international upbringing of the working people’
labety kapitalistyčnoji ekspluataciji – ‘clutches of capitalist exploitation’
lenins'ki partijni zasady – ‘Leninist party foundations’
mandat komunista – ‘Communist's mandate’[9]
mosty družby – ‘bridges of friendship’[10]
narodnyj dobrobut – ‘well-being of people’
naša herojična doba – ‘our heroic epoc’
nevtomna dijal'nist' na blaho socializmu – ‘indefatigable activity for the benefit of socialism’
neporušna lenins'ka družba narodiv – ‘unbreakable Leninist friendship of nations’
neporušne braterstvo – ‘indestructable brotherhood’
pid lenins'kym znamenom – ‘under the Lenin banner’[11]
pidnesennja idejno-polityčnoji roboty – ‘the elevation of ideological-political work’
polityčne i trudove pidnesennja – ‘political and labor enthusiasm’
polum"janyj patriotyzm – ‘ardent patriotism’
pravoflanhovi p"jatyričky – ‘right-flank members of the five-year plan’
radjans'ka doba – ‘Soviet epoch’
radjans'ka epoxa – ‘Soviet epoch’
robitnyča hidnist' – ‘dignity of the working people’
robitnyča čest' – ‘honor of the working class’
svitovyj vyzvol'nyj rux – ‘world liberation movement’
sim"ja respublik-sester – ‘family of sister republics’
sprava zmicnennja myru i socializmu – ‘cause of strengthening peace and socialism’
toržestvo lenins'koji nacional'noji polityky – ‘great victory of Leninist national policy’[12]
trudovi zvytjahy – ‘labor victories’
u svitli dopovidi – ‘in the light of the report’
uročysta obstanovka – ‘solemn atmosphere ‘

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[8] title of an article in *Ukrajina*, March 1973, 12: 8
[9] title of an article, *Ukrajina*, March 1973, 10: 2
[10] title of an article, *Ukrajina*, March 1973, 11: 2
[11] title of an article, *Ukrajina*, March 1973, 11: 1
[12] the word *toržestvo* was also extensively used

cilkovyta jednist' – 'absolute unity'
čest' radjans'koho robitnyka – 'honor of the Soviet worker'
čexoslovac'ko-radjans'ka družba – 'Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship'

Appendix 3. Ukrainian word *červonyj* 'red' see 1.11.

Ščob vično dzvin kurantiv
hromovyj
U Vsesvit posylav Červonu
slavu
Xto kol'oru červonoho nosij,
Toj častočka červonoji
Deržavy

(*Ukrajina*, February 1973, 5: 12, by
Mykola Zolotarenko)

Appendix 4. Russian word-combinations with *političeskij* from Šapošnikov (1998) see 2.2.4.2.

akt (terr.)
bomond
bor'ba
vlast'
volja
dividendy
èkstremizm
igra
interesy
isteblišment
kar'era
konsalting
lider
nestabil'nost'
objazatel'stva
povedenie
privjazannost'
pritron'e
reformirovanie
svoboda
sysk
sily
simpatija
situacija
texnologija

tok-šou
torg
trebovanija
šou

Appendix 5. Additional Russian word-combinations with *političeskij* see 2.2.4.2.

batalii
vyživaemost'
grossmejster
demarši
žurnalistika
"inženerija" (with the explanation *intrigi, na kotoryx deržitsja rossijskaja politika*)
kapitalec
massoviki-zatejniki
narkotik
osen'
piarščiki
propusk
sreda
'surdoperevod"
"teneviki"
truba
xameleony
xozjastvo
cvet obščestva

Appendix 6. Russian word-combinations with truncated form *polit-* see 2.2.4.2.

politboi
politèlita
politèffekty
politžurnaljugi
politzvezda
politigroki
politkorrektnost'
politkonsalting
politreformirovanie strany

Appendix 7. Russian word-combinations with *političeskij* in inverted commas see 2.2.4.2.

"političeskaja" bolezn'
"političeskaja priroda"
"političeskij gazoprovod"

Appendix 8. Ukrainian word-combinations with *polityčnyj* see 2.2.4.2.

aktyvisty
aktyvnist'
akcenty
akcija
al'jansy
ambiciji
analiz
arena
atmosfera
bankruty
baza
bazys
bil'šist'
bloky
bomži
bomond
borot'ba
vady
vyzvolennja
vymohy
vysnovky
vystava
vidnosyny
vidomstva
vidpovid'
vidpovidal'nist'
vidpovidal'nist' elit
vidtinok
vijny
vinehret
v"jazni
vlada
volja
vplyvovist'
vsejadnist'
vtručannja

heneralitet
horyzont
demahohija
dyvidendy
dyferenciacija
dyskusija
dysputy
dijal'nist'
dijač
dokaz
doktryna panslavizmu
dolja
doslidžennja
durist'
ekstremizm
elity
emansypacija
epidemija
etap nacional'noho rozvytku
žandarmerija
žyttja Ukrajiny
zabarvlennja
zavdannja
zahostrennja
zajavy
zaležnist'
zamovlennja
zasoby
zaxody
zašorenist'
zbirna
zerno
zminy
značennja
zodčyj
ihry
idealy
ideji
implikaciji
iniciatyva
instrument
interesy
intujicija
intryhy
isteblišment
istorija

kampanija
kapitalizm
kartyna krajiny
kerivnyctvo
koalicija
kola
kol'ory
kombinaciji
kon"junktura
konkurenty
konsolidacija suspil'stva
konfihuracija krajiny
konflikt
konfrontacija
korektnist'
kordony
korotkozorist'
kredo
kryza
kroky
kul'tura
kurs
lider
liderstvo
lozunhy opozyciji
lojalnist'
majbutnje
manevr
marginalizovanist' ukrajinofoniv
marginal'nist'
masovi zaxody
menedžment
metamorfozy
myrotvorec'
mobilizacija suspil'stva
mihranty
mirkuvannja
mifolohemy
myslennja
motyvy
namiry
napad
naslidky
nacija
nacionalizm
nebuttja

nevdači
nevihlastvo
nezaležnist'
nekompetentnist'
nenavyst'
nestabil'nist'
niša
novovvedennja
normy
oberežnist'
obrij
olimp
opir memorandumu
opozycijni syly
oponent
orijentacija
palitra
pamflety
panuvannja
paxošči
peredbačennja
peredistorija
peresliduvannja
peretvorennja
perypetiji
perspektyva
pidlehlist'
pidsumky roku
piramida Rosiji
pljuralizm
ploščyna
povedinka
pobojišče
pohljady
podija
podil
pozycija
pomylky
pomylka
ponjattja
porazka
portret Ukrajiny
poslablennja
potenciji
prahmatyzm
predstavnyctvo

pryhody SBU
pryznačennja
prynaležnist'
pryncypy vidnosyn
prytulok
pryčyny
problemy
provokatory
prohramy
prostir
profilaktyka
protyriččja
protystojannja
psyxolohija
radykaly
ryzyky
rik
rišennja
realiji
real'nist'
revnošči
režym
rezony
rezul'tat
reformuvannja ukrajins'koji vlady
rozborky
rozvytok
rozdvojenist'
rozdorižžja
rozkvit Ukrajiny
romantyzm
romantyky
samovbyvcja
samohubstvo
samoidentyfikacija
samostijnist'
samotnist' vlady
satyra
svit
svobody
sezon
sens
separatyzm
syly
sympatiji
synkretyzm

systema
skandaly
sojuznyky
spektr
spilkuvannja
spil'nota
sprava
spromožnist'
stabilizacija
stravy
stadija
stratehija
struktura
suverennist'
scena
tabory
taktyka
talant
teleekran
temy
tyžden'
tysk
trup
ubyvstva
uhoda
upodobannja
usamostijnennja
ustrij
utvorennja v parlamenti
učast' naselennja
fejleton
fenomen
fihura
forma krajiny
futbol
futbol'ne pole
xarakterystyka
xytrist'
xid
cenzura
cili
cnota
javyšče

Appendix 9. Ukrainian word-combinations with *polityčnyj* in inverted commas

see 2.2.4.2.

"livyj polityčnyj kut"
"polityčna arystokratija"
"polityčna lyxomanka"
"polityčne verxovodstvo"
polityčnyj "bat'ko"
polityčnyj "dax"
"polityčnyj" etap
polityčnyj "šljub" deržavy
polityčnyj "centr"

Appendix 10. Ukrainian word *polityčnyj* in combination with other adjectives

see 2.2.4.2.

vyborčo-polityčni rozklady
dnipropetrovs'ke polityko-biznesove tvorče ob"jednannja
ekonomiko-polityčni placdarmy
polityko-ekonomični perevahy stratehiji
prostorovo-polityčni orijentaciji
rynkovo-polityčna kon"junktura

Appendix 11. Ukrainian word-combinations with truncated form *polit-*

see 2.2.4.2.

politdonos
politkorektnyj
politpodija
politproces
Politrada
politresurs
polittexnolohy

Appendix 12. Questionnaire Form

see 3.11.

Jak Vy pojasnjujete značennja terminu __________ *?* 'What is your definition of the term __________?':

1. *menedžment (upravlinnja)*
2. *menedžer (dyrektor)*
3. *pidpryjemec'*

4. *biznesmen (dilova ljudyna)*
5. *pidpryjemnyctvo*
6. *biznes*
7. *firma*
8. *rynok*
9. *birža*
10. *stahnacija*
11. *infljacija*
12. *deval'vacija*
13. *konkurencija*
14. *marketynh*
15. *podatok*
16. *audyt, audytor (revizor)*
17. *nou-xau*
18. *pablik rilejšnz*
19. *sponsor (mecenat)*
20. *f'jučersy*
21. *akcija*
22. *bankir*
23. *diler (dyler)*
24. *investyciji*
25. *konsaltynh*
26. *reklama*

Additional commentary:
Jaki anhlijs'ki ponjattja ne majut' ukrajins'kyx vidpovidnykiv? 'What English concepts do not have Ukrainian equivalents?'